

# NEWSPAPER FOR THE RESISTANCE

# BLITZ

IN EUROPE  
NUMBER 0

## EDITORIAL

there is a discussion going on for some time, about an international newspaper resp. a (west)european newspaper. and here is the result of this discussion.

the idea grew out of the discussion about a boycott of knispelkrant, and was developed inside the international structure of infoshops. in that case international means: woman and men from seven westeuropean countries are concerned in. in our discussions - we wouldn't have thought of this newspaper in our fondest dreams - we realized the character of service in the different shops as a common problem. we are the people who assort, archiver, and send out masses of mail, we knock about with accounting, bookkeeping and lenders of copy machines. and all of this only because of the importance of information-netting between the different actual fights.

papers and leaflets out of the resistance have to be spread abroad people. in many towns the infoshops are the only really public point for getting informations and connections but there is a hitch on it: most of the shopgroups are occupied with the organisation of technics. it's work to impart the fights in form of huge heaps of paper. politics are done somewhere else. for example: an antifa-plenum does make politics or a real squat-fighter makes politics; so she/he is subject - the shops are object of eagerness. there a fighter will get all she/he wants all the time - or rather not - because the shop-group is occupied by other things, maybe they are just squatting a house, or they are at the ICC-meeting, or, or, or... these conditions - in such a crass way we recognized it for the first time when we had a common discussion about it - gave us a shock. it is no good feeling to be a service-company above all because we promote and appear for a policy that stands and fights against functionalism and terror of consumption.

## reservation of property:

according to this reservation of property this newspaper stays in property of the sender as long till it has been distributed personally to the 1/2 prisoner. to "attach it to the belongings" of the 1/2 prisoner is not a personal distribution in the sense of this reservation of property. if the newspaper isn't handed out to the 1/2 prisoner personally it must be sent back to the sender with giving the reason why she/he didn't get it.

and moreover there is the political dimension of this fact: the power of the ruler's medias, their hardly drawn monopol - it's an essential part of their sway. for example in ns-fashism it was a matter of fact (most of you know it: volksempfänger and streamlined medias), and there is a never broken continuity until today: criminalisation of newspapers out of the resistance, exceptionally advanced in FRG, news blackout - just as for hungerstrike in spain now, distort of facts in their smear-sheets, calculated inflammatory campaigns to prepare criminalisation and other attacks, massive hoaxes. in short in a word we call this as a well-aimed massmanipulation to maintain their sway. meanwhile we squat at our heaps of paper and are busy engaged to keep the infoshop working. or we take care about our - of course existing, but often filled up with avalanches of papers - political identity, and do well at it by being involved in the political fights.

out all of this will wholly change right away now: we did decide (!!!) to develop our own political identity, a shape, beyond the political function of infoshops. to employ the infos we have very directed, as well at the background of taking the offensive against the media-policy of the swayers, and to drive the netting of struggles further ahead.

out of a paper of brigatte rosse:

"George jackson says: "connection, connection, connection. what stands for: movement, international coordination, consciousness, collective fight"

hence determination of information/communication as a vehicle of circulation, of diffusion, of sozialisation, not only of political discussion and revolutionary knowledge, but also of CAPABILITY TO FIGHT and to act. information is strength, LIBERATION, WAR.

the room of internationalistic practice doesn't coincide with the geographical room of national reality no more, but with the more and more compacting room of international social communication.

...that means by information, which is circulation of political thesis, of liberation-projects, of concrete contents of fighting, of needs, of combat experience at the same time; information, which stands for the capability to anticipate the demenour and the next tactical steps of the enemy of the working classband of imperialism. information, which is knowledge of the territory, accumulation of proletarian knowledge, hence PROLETARIAN SCIENCE; information which is a break with the revisionist logic of "national ways", overcoming of provincialism and nationalism, creation of an international revolutionary cooperation in an epoch of informatik and robots."

in this respect the newspaper is one of our projects, and we are aiming following matters.



Ongeveer vijftig gemaskerde krakers richtten in Groningen zaterdagmorgen vroeg in korte tijd voor miljoen gulden schade aan.

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how shall the paper look like?

it will contain a theoretical part, wherein we try to make obvious various backgrounds; in this issue it is an article about the new aliens law in FRG.

the articles about norway and kurdistan report about development and situation of the fights in these countries. such country-emphasises shall built up a basis for discussions about the countries with their different history, to make discernable the connections and communities in success and default. in kurdistan the actions of guerilla the forming of basis-committees and massed actions like strikes and demonstrations led to a pre-revolutionary situation. it's a process that doesn't yet emerge in the imperialistic countries.

one part of the paper will report about the current fights and its backgrounds. we think that the hun-

gerstrike of GRAPO and PCE(R) and the squatt-fights in groningen and hamburg are connected with one another.

both of them are fights for our own structures. the attacks of the pigs are directed against it, with the aim to isolate us from each other. we set our own ideas of collective life and collective fights against it.

In the beginning the paper will document the current fights in the different countries, to point out and elucidate the developments. then the lack of information about the fights in various countries will be canceled out: to understand one another and to know about each another is a precondition to lead common discussions and fights. we also want to have discussions with the imprisoned comrades in the various countries!

it's one of our aims to make a paper with main-themes, which are based on connected contents. for example: a theoretical part about restructure (city planing...), what does it mean in context to eg; in the part about the countries: how does the real look like in the various countries? in the part of discussion-papers: how do the struggles against it look like, how can we put up resistance all together; and of course the current part: what's going on (and off) now? the main themes will be announced in the preceding number, to make it possible for all of you to take part in this work.

we want to develop main-themes. above all because the paper shall show the (west)european dimension, the connection of the project europe and the fights against it. it's possible to make this very obvious with the included articles from the various countries. but we need the co-operation of the countries to realize this. so we also call up spain, portugal, italy, france, belgium... to co-operate concretely. well, write articles about the different themes and send it to us.

up from the beginning the paper will be published in (bad) english and german. we are not able to translate into other languages, but we would like to translate it also in spanish and french. maybe at a later date. that means that all of you should translate the articles to german/english, if possible. we are also left on the help of other people for translating. it's our main organisational problem. therefore it is possible, that publishing of articles depends on this fact.

above all one thing is very conspicuous for us, if we translate the articles into english: we have the deep hope that you can understand us, or better: our english-translated articles. our school-english did forsake us years ago, not to mention that oxford-english and german polit-slang do not have in common very much. let's be serious: try to translate your texts with the demand to yourself not to make any alternation in it's contents. above all you will be lost by your dictionary.

or playing on words; usually it's livening up. or witty passages, or slang-terms; now we hate it very much! "down with the tape-worm-periodes" - we have it on the tips of our tongues - or in the pen, but at the same time there's a fear rising at the backs of our brains: can we find "bandwurmsatz" in our dictionary? and: if we can't, what shall we do? rewrite everything? hence we think it's better to let it be.

and now for the subscribers of the english issue: we are very glad about hounded up wrong translations and lists of useful words... no inhibitions. red pen is asked. (does red pen have the same sense as rotstift in german?? doubts are nitting at us...) hence you must not expect us to do miracles - a leaflet about the last squatting rather looks like a bad cooking-recipe in our do-it-yourself translation. - so: do it yourself!

if we look for people who translate or if you do so: an article that is sent in two languages has a better chance of being published in any case.

there is much work to do for people who are not involved in a concrete way, too. for instance the distribution of the newspaper, actually pages, articles, positionpapers and so on. for example you could produce an actually page about what happened or will happen in your region. put the lay out on a DIN A3 paper and send it to our adress. but please think of the translation-problems: if you are able to do it in german and in english; otherwise send it early enough, so that we have the time to translate. try to imagine the difficulties of organizing this newspaper beyond the frontiers!

up from the next number we plan an ISBN-number for the paper, so that you can order it in the normal book-trade.

yeah, that's all we want to say for the first time. you will hear from us and we wish you to send us much post with critics, ideas, articles, etc.

with many kind regards,  
comrades from different european countries

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WITH A SECOND  
ENVELOPE INSIDE  
TO: CLASH

P.s. please excuse our really awfully english: when we have learnt it at school we didn't know how important it would become for us!

when we heard about the eviction of the WNC in groningen, also the whole list of evictions within the last months came into our minds. also the preparations and attempts like for example against the hafenstrasse at hamburg. at a europe-wide level the pigs are carrying out the decision of T.R.E.U.I. about the eviction of squatted houses with vigour.

since october 1989 at least twelve houses were evicted at amsterdam the major of amsterdam said that he wants to have the town "kraakfrei" - without squatting - until 1992! evictions as a condition for the EC-domestic-market!), in the beginning of february three houses at kopenhagen were evicted at the same day, in april the LAMA-houses at hamburg and a house/center at duisburg which was squatted since 9 (!) years.

in the beginning of mai two houses at paris and one at lyon, and now the WNC at groningen. it is a frontal attack at our conditions of live and our structures. at the same time the attack at the collectives of prisoners in spain, the "hard line" against the hunger-strike of the prisoners, the murder of manuel sevillano martin. they attack us there where we are together.

the houses and centers are a better condition to break the individualisation and isolation. besides they are places where we and our aim - another, human society - are visible and within reach for others. where everyday life and resistance are not separated anymore but run together for us.

also squatted houses and centers are a direct practical answer to towndestruction and housing shortage.

brief, they are conditions for us to fight together and to will be more. surely we are able to and will fight also without houses, but the starting conditions are worse.

is resting the question "what to do?"

it's clear that against the united forces of the (west)european governments we will only have a chance if we stick together. but much more isn't clear, we don't have answers still.

we have to go forward, always to wait for the next evictions doesn't help us but paralyses us more. perhaps the "squatterfront meeting" during the "phantom days" which will take place in the end of june at hamburg, will bring us further. it is planed as an european meeting and there shall be discussed propositions for common acting and worked out a common basis.

(the editors)

(T.R.E.U.I. = terrorism, radicalism, extremism, violence, international -

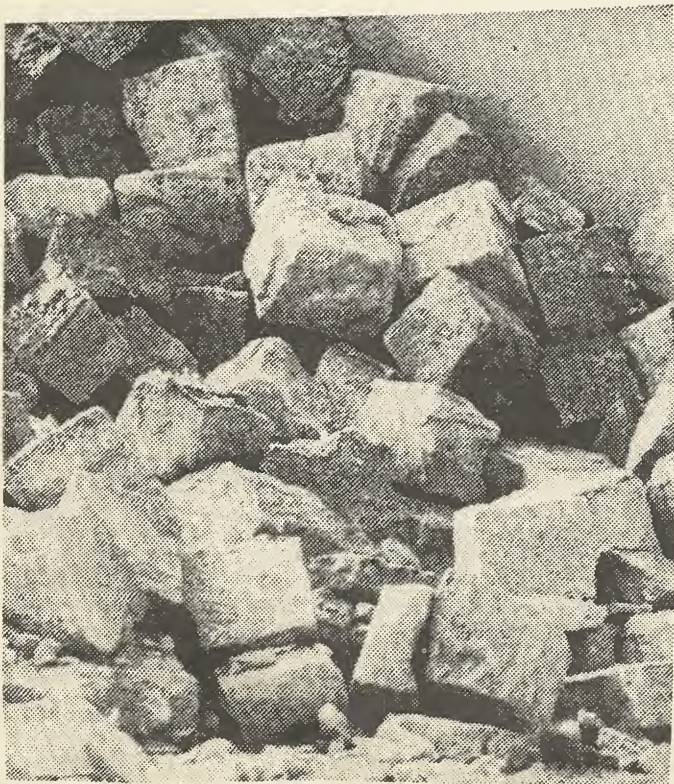
TREVI is a secret committee of the ministers of the interior and justice of the 12 EC-states, switzerland, austria, sweden, the usa and canada. besides also the chiefs of the anti-terror-squads, experts of secret services and high cops are members of this committee. they have workshops which often takes place and are working out proposals. 1986 or 87 there was a TREVI-decision to permit no further squatting and to evict already squatted houses.)



Groningen, 27 mei 1990



WNC  
GRONINGEN  
EVICTED



#### BARRICADES AT GRONINGEN

At the end of mai the WNC at Groningen was evicted and 139 squatters were imprisoned. The WNC (Walter-Noordmann-Complex) was a squatted center. With the eviction many important facilities should be destroyed, like: the soup-kitchen "salmonella", the coffee-shop "Gebrek", the womens coffee-shop "De derde Dame", a music-practise-room, a concert-hall the pub "De Perfectie", housing space, play-rooms for children, sports-hall, acrobatic-room, cassette-shop "de teller", bicycle workshop, studios, meeting of Kraakers (squatters). All around the WNC the squatters build up barricades:

"Why we do raise barricades and attack town-destroying-projects at this day !!!

What is wrong about if somebody is hungry and take the bread of someone other who consumes it until a fatty degeneration? Or if homeless people use a house of somebody who owns ten of them and tear them down or let them decay?

How can you talk about justice, if people die of hunger in a world without deficiency of food? We live in the Netherlands in a so called constitutional state. This means in reality:

- \* refugees and asyants are caught in prisons;
- \* the police is allowed to threaten, torture and kill people;
- \* the president and other big bosses avoid and defraud taxes;
- \* people who are destroying swastikas, are imprisoned for 24 hours;
- \* gamblers (like the owner of the WNC: the P.G.G.M.) are allowed to tear down houses and to threaten and kick down squatters with payed swashbucklers;
- \* factories are allowed to pollute what they want.

There is no real relationship between justice and the constitutional state in this country - the only aim is to defend the present rule and distribution of ownership. Public prosecutor's office, police and judge are only the basic of the repression.

#### THIS ORDER OF LAW ISN'T OUR ORDER

We don't let us determinate from a "judge decision" and won't leave our houses !

We try to live in self-determination, how we live together and how we act together - without authority and oppression. to live and work together on the basic of equal positions. Not to do something because everybody does it or because anybody tries to force you. every moment we have the responsibility to take position and to defend her. That means in a concret way that we are fighting against:

\* oppression of coloured people by white people, women by men, workers by bosses, animals by humans, and so on,...

\* destruction of environment: pollution, militarism, exploitation, and so on,

\* dissipation of resources, energy live, environment and other grievances in this context.

This resistance has a direct consequences for the organization of our life. It becomes a sense in the manner how we are living: in a group with second-, third-, or fourthhand material to create and arrange our rooms. or we express it in our common rooms, where we build up many initiatives which are independant and not-commercial for people without money. for these ideas, of which we are thinking that they are just, we are ready to fight for. therefore we are going to street today.

We have built up barricades in front of the WNC and we will defend them until we'll get the guarantee that we will be allowed to live and to work here further on. In addition we'll attack projects of town-destroying.

We are prepared of the next inflammatory campaign by the press which aims against our resistance. The newspapers again will be filled up with wrong "facts", lies, incomplete and one-sided stories. be critical and don't believe their stories !!

#### report of an eye-witness

saturday, may 26<sup>th</sup> 1990

440: it starts. squatters with stuff for barricades rush out. they build chains to carry out the heavy stuff. in a few minutes the houses were protected against attacks.

445: a bus of the ME (special police force) drives to Oude Bouterinnestraat and stops hundret meters away from the house to watch out the squatters. it's the first time they risk to face the squatters. immediately they are attacked by the quatters with stones, bricks etc.



they get frightened and flee.

the yuppi-cafe 'forum' and the office of the bigwig lawyers 'seidel and plas' were the first who get noticed the first blows of the ongoing attack. with their stock the barricades are strengthened. another time the cops pass by and are put to flight by a hail of stones again. while the stock (and beverage) were taken out of the café 'forum' to strengthen the barricades (and people), three ME-wagons move forwards to the university-place behind the houses. squatters coated with overalls and masked attack the cops who are hiding behind their wagons; stones are thrown against the cars and we show them the dimensions of our rage.

the cops flee around the next corner and there they get out of the cars: later on they take position on the other corner of the street, in front of the barricades. it was a good piece of distance to run, but they are attacked again. now they shoot back with tear-gas, but they had to get in mind that it was worthless against people who are organised. imagine the shock for the cops when the squatters took on gas-masks and attacked again. the pigs had to withdraw.

while obedient cops caught stones the city-major Staatsen and the cop-leader met to declare the state of distress; to conserve the public silence and safety (and to save their power) any squatter or anyone who looks like a squatter could be arrested.

on the front side of the houses a bulldozer moved forward and the sky was darkened by stones. the bulldozer stopped, then drove into the barricades and was stopped by a broken tire, oil and colors. it disappeared, and then two water cannons approached, which get the same treatment. the ME was withdrawn, the water cannons were full of colors and dents and had to withdraw too. then the barricades were set in flames, flames and smoke get up wide over the roofs of the houses. a writer of the instigator-newspaper 'Nieuws van het noorden' get a stone in his face.

again the pigs move forward, but they weren't able to conquer the street.

the rage and aggression about the tear-down of the WNC provided for fear and confusion among the cops.

one group wanted to apply more tear-gas, but they had forgotten their guns; others had no gas-masks. again they had to run.

while the cops called for reinforcement all over the country, the city-major was pressed by his employers; unable to do something he advised that the cops have to wait with the eviction until tuesday.

up to now the pigs had wasted all their gas that they got together with the special forces from amsterdam.

after six months of preparation their plan proved useless. during five days the city was full of pigs cause of the expectation of WNC-resistance. though they were to few.

at least they brought 400 ME-cops into action against 135 squatters, before the squatters withdrew into the house.

but the ME stood activ. molesting and hunting people was nearly every-day-live; this was the face of their campagne of revenge. four people who squatted a house peacefully were arrested cause they 'took part of the confrontations'. but many others too, as squatters



as the city-youth were picked up from the street; this all cause of the just introduced 'state of distress'.

'De Bakkerij' had enormous problems with pig-terror, as all the other squatted houses in the city.

the press did everything to spread lies.

the costs of the eviction were about one million gulden.

at midday young people who watched the actions from the fair all over the time startet to smash windows and plunder shops and pelt pigs with bottles. this clashes were going on down to the night.


the communication with people in the WNC went over 27mc radio-sets. up and on they were interferenced by the pigs, but most of the time they ensured a good mood and important informations.

two persons who tried to come to the WNC were arrested; but four or five others could break through the ME-lines.

sunday 7<sup>00</sup>: in the early day-light the pigs tried to break in the house the first time (in the darkness they didn't have any desire to come in; but no one wondered about).

four hours and an useless cran later they had a lot to do before they knew where the squatters are hidden. then the scatters came out. all got arrested.

it was a great day for the local squatting-movement.

I hope that many had took a snap-shoot of the ME-bus, full of transpiring ME-pigs, and all the time driving through groningen with a big  sprayed on the door.

greetings from the unknown chaot.

about the medias

the reports in the "volkskrant" try to provoke a negative opinion about us. they reported about our looting of cafe "capitool" but nothing about our feeling to the clash. this shows that they want to produce a climate wherein "hard punishment" "what they well deserved" seems to be justify. together with the power of state and tv, they demand a hard punishment; here is an agreement between the parliamentary left and right wing.

jos staatsen is the major of groningen

after a carriere in the ministry of the interior, where he was been a director of security-service of state, it is clear that he is a cold-blooded careerist who always knows very well what he is saying and doing. when he has an outburst of rage, than only with the purpose to awake the public sentiment. this he has proved during his whole majorship in groningen against the WNC. it was also his initiative to bring the emergency-laws-articles 219 and 220 into action. that meant:

- the surrounding of WNC was forbidden area
- everybody in the street who looks like a squatter could be imprisoned or if somebody has something like a weapon.

by the way, here in groningen it's better to have something like a weapon. in the last time permanently people were attacked and hardly beaten off by fascist hooligans. not only the squatters are threatened by this, but also homos and everybody else who doesn't look "normal".

jos staatsen often has caused fascist behaviour like this and he also call upon it.

after the eviction 15 other people were arrested because of these 2 articles. now they are set free again, if they have payed caution or not.

the attacked objects

in the beginning we want to say that it is only a speculation why the people attacked these objects (they are still in jail). also we don't want to make a sentence without having discussed together with everybody who was involved.

in spite of this we want to say that this destruction is in no relationship to the crimes of bosses like tax avoidances, speculation, illegal buildings....or for example to enforce a 10 million gulden project like the new museum - against 80 % of the population. they are only intrested in the voice of people if there are existing squatters who they want to criminalize.

the new "model of groningen" is obvious where the conference of the social commission takes place behind a locked door.

co-determination is a farce, because it's only possible after they have decided and started their programs.

this kind of crime - not to ask for the opinion of the population - is done and supported also by this kind of advocats whose office has been attacked.

a modern trick to steal the money of the people is the PPS (society for official and privat cooperation between state and economy, this concerns mainly town-destroying). this is the special fable of ype gietema, senator of building (social-democrat)



the prisoners

we know from 138 prisoners where they are. minimal one of them was maltreated, somewhere they put 18 persons in one isolation-cell. sometimes vegetarian food is refused to the prisoners.

in leeuwarde and hoogeveen the prisoners are in isolation. besides in nieuwersluis (military prison) they once tried to interrogate somebody about the so-called "groningen tale of murder" (two weeks ago one of the squatters committed suicide, the cops pretend that he has been killed by the inhabitants of the WNC).

meanwhile they founded an 80-cops-strong special team which is carrying out the interrogations and one more team which is responsible to get all money back from the squatters for all graffities and shop-liftings around the WNC during the last years ("also if it takes 40 years...").

in hoogeveen (a new euro-jail) everybody was forced to take a shower, to wear jail-uniform and to make a tuberculosis-test. several persons got into rage because of this (often, hurted persons didn't get a medicine help).

but generally we think that the people are in a good mood - that's what we know from the advocats. the different prisons and police-stations where people are imprisoned:

groningen, leeuwarden, arnhem, den haag, zutphen, drachten, almelo, stadskanaal, veenhuizen, assen, haren, zwolle, ter appel, winschoten, hoogeveen, hoozand, veendam and delfzijl.

as we know, everybody has an advocat now. but we haven't contact to everybody.





for the rich expensiv houses are built in the most beautiful parts of the city; offices and car parks are made in and around the center, and expensiv places for entertainment. the poor can leave, there is no place for them in the city. we're not going to stand for this. we want affordable accomodation in the city, not offices blocks

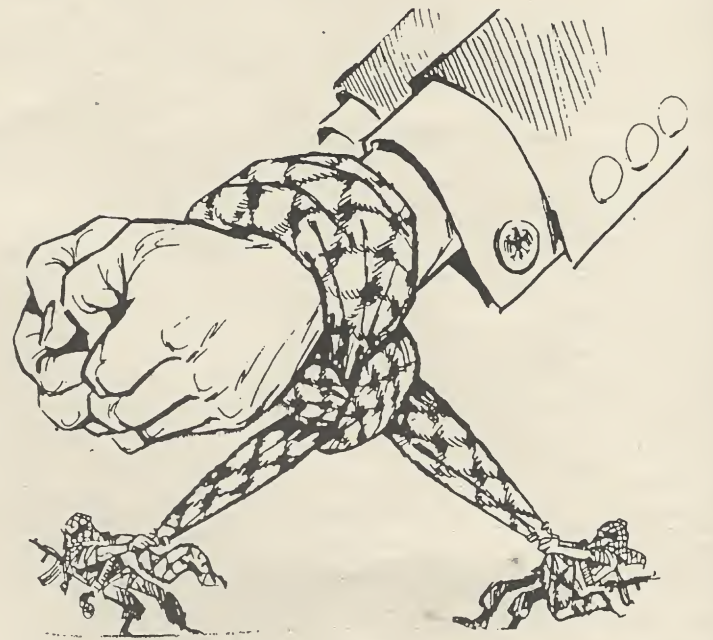
that only stand empty. free public transport instead of car parks for vehicles that only pollute the environment more and more. we demand the immediate release of all WNC prisoners and for of all WNC prisoners and no further repercussions. the people from WNC in groningen have repeatedly brought these ideas into the open. politicians and police are now trying to criminalise the people that resist this false democracy by using article 140. art. 140 means that you can be punished even if you only plan to commit a crime with a group of people. you are member of the group even if you only, for example, make coffee for other people that are also part of the group. you are recognised as a group if you, for example, have more than one meeting with the same people. art. 140 was first used in nijmegen against the squatters of the marienburcht, that as a result got 8 months in prison.

the principle of individuel guilt is dropped and thus the basis for the so-called democracy is eroded. in this way art. 140 is being used to hold 135 people, that resisted the eviction of the WNC, in prison.

the struggle against city-planning is made, in this way, illegal. in this way the state doesn't have to take into political motives. everyone that supports the prisoners (it doesn't matter in which way) runs the risk of getting art. 140 used against them and are thus criminalised.

in police cells prisoners are beaten and theit clothes ripped up. the handcuffs were set so tight by some that their hands become blue. people were also thrown naked into isolation cells.

by one of the noise demonstrations, a few of the prisoners also shout back, for this they thrown into isolation



cells. in this way every form of resitance is immediately punished. ebeb under these conditions many of the prisoners are keeping their mouths and have not given their names and also not made a statement. with this blunt methods nthey can't turn off our political ideas anymore than they can stop our resistance. squatting will continue!!! they want a yuppie-city, but the city is us, all together!!!

**SOLIDARITYACTION FOR THE WNC  
OCCUPATION IN AMSTERDAM**

today, 9 june, we have squatted the "byzantiumcomplex". this building is now exactly in the same situation as the wolters-nordhoff-complex (WNC) in groningen was when it was smashed up by the PGGM (pension investors) to keep it squatt-free. this was no obstacle for a large group of people to build something up; to see to it that living and working spaces appeared. we want to do the same in "byzantium", here and now, because this complex can offer living space for many people. at least there is accomodation for the 139 arrested at the eviction of the WNC. we are furious because these people have been looked up, furious because the damage which they suposely did, can not be compared with the damage done by the council with their cityplanning. the WNC was a place where people were busy in a non-commercial way and where they lived together. there were for example a cafe, a bookshop, and a second-hand clothes shop. these activities and living space from a large group of people had to pushed aside for speculation. once more people evicted for offices once again is it made obvious by politicians in the name of the pvda (labour) that they don't want people to live self determined life; once again the pvda show that they want a yuppie-city where there's no room for people on a low income or social security. in this way the pvda tries to create a gap between rich and poor.







we have got to know that some people have questions or doubts concerning the events on saturday. we don't want to elude discussions about that, but at this time the prisoners have the priority. we want to get them out there as fast as possible and help them to resist the repressions. we would like to that for us there is a base for solidarity. regarding the numerous visits from other cities we can say that this solidarity is also existent there. we are also very happy about the different initiatives in the respective cities, for example caring about the prisoners in the respective areas. but it should become even more. so this is call up to strengthen your efforts. mostly because the politicians and medias are really only staring at the riots and the amount of punishment, which shall be given now. they keep silent about everything the occupants want to say they hush it up. this form of social isolation must be broken. the fight for a selfdetermined life and against the capitalist patriarchal social conditions continues! set all prisoners free! solidarity is a weapon!

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#### trial - declaration

one of the pillars of the economic order is the so-called proprietary right. the world, actually belonging to all its inhabitants, is divided up among very few 'people' who do with it what is right in their opinion, and mostly this means not so many good things. this distribution of the earth is responsible for the hunger of 3/4 of the people, while there are food enough, that people have no house to live in, while there are enough empty houses, and it is one of the most important reasons for the exploitation and destruction of environment too.

in groningen too we are faced with this. some 'possessors' decide on what happens with the environment (for example Agrunol, Suikerunie) and the structure of the city (e.g. Gasunie, PTT, PGGM).

the WNC is an example how that's going on. the PGGM becomes owner of houses through extortion and other forms of pressure and then starts to tear down houses from inside as they like. (this means to make them uninhabitable). they are not interested in the houses but in the piece of land, and in the offices and so on which shall be build there, shortly, in the money they can earn with.

as the kraak prevented this in 1985, the PGGM was not ashamed to send roughs to throw out the new inhabitants again. an organisation which thinks it can act with people and houses like this, thereby get rid of all rights. for us, the right to living and housing is more important than the 'proprietary-right'. the PGGM has no more claim on wolters nordhoff complex. in this way it is the wrong political decision to reward PGGM for its activities with a guaranteed 5%-profit-rate. if something will happen with the WNC, the actual inhabitants have to decide and not the PGGM.

felt angry, ruled red and cheated again.

how weary is a city to live in, in which the social home-building is teared down to build luxurious appartments and office buildings? in which the social-cultural establishments are abolished or get priceless? in which the look out of the new library is more important as the circumstances of working of people who work there and improvements in substance? in which a speculator, the PGGM, earns extra money on this social establishment?

'we don't talk about pent's which can be payed, but about exotic museums and foreign architects', the former senator of housing and member of PVDA, Puivenstein, declared at a congress about city-forming in groningen. people with less money are bannished into the outer quarters of the cities.

but our picture of a city worth for living is totally different. we think that in a city there must be room for everybody to develop and house there. the interests of the people have to be more important as the clima of investment. we try to determinate our live by ourself, by creating our own rooms for housing and working, keep everything affordable. especially this elementary starting points for self-development are taken away from the people. in exchange we get back a few 'favors' like a job and material wealth.

by starting with money-accumulation in the first place and not with the direct human interests a gap between the propertied class and the population comes up. in this the working class is allowed to profit a little bit - as long as the economy is in good condition. in this they seem to have an interest in the reigning economic system. besides there exist the 'subclass' of the unemployed, foreigners and so on, who is getting poorer and poorer and who acts as the scapegoat for the solution of the problems which are created by the reigning class. in this artificial contradictions are created which are ignoring the real contradictions.

in face of city-destruction it works in the same manner: squatters are presented als anti-social and violent, and the city government together with the building lions take care of a city worth for living. in truth the city government and it's capitalistic partners destroy the city by tearing down the houses and their ugly and priceless new buildings.

to live in the inner city soon will be only possible for this with a fat portemonnaie. they don't consider the opinion of the people. this comes transparent in this how the PVDA had pushed through



the museum-iland in the old city council - in spite of a election defeat.

IF THE WNC IS EVICTED, A GREAT NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS WILL BE DESTROYED, FOR EXAMPLE:

SOUP-KITCHEN SALMONELLA  
DAY-PUB THE LACK  
WOMENS CAFÉ THE THIRD LADY  
INFO-SHOP 689  
TAPE AND RECORD SHOP THE COUNTER  
BYKE-GARAGE  
STUDIOS  
KRAAK SPEAKING HOUR  
RAMSCHLADEN  
TRAINING ROOM FOR ACROBATS  
CONCERT-HALE  
MUSIC TRAINING ROOM  
NIGHT-CAFÉ THE PERFECTION  
HOUSING ROOMS



on sunday the 17th of june 19 women start a hungerstrike, women that were imprisoned after the eviction of the wnc-squat in groningen. all 19 women are imprisoned in winschoten since 3 weeks now. winschoten, being a former prison for male prisoners with long sentences, was bound to be closed down on the 1st of july.

to enable the imprisonment of all 139 squatters that were arrested, the justice department in den haag ordered to make every step necessary, so winschoten was re-opened provisorically. in the meantime 3 women were released, either because they had made statements or because they were minor age. the remaining 19 women stick together very well.

the following report contains a description of a letter we received on monday the 18th of june, about the events and backgrounds that led to the hungerstrike.

"the situation is tense for over three weeks now. the prisoners complain they want more time out on the yard, don't want to be locked in continuously during the day, but nothing changes for the better. 16th of june in the afternoon: the ground floor is out on the yard (half a hour a day). 9 women all together, bring glass, wood and tea-spoons and start a raving noise. the other 10 women, still inside of the top floor, join in. 2 screws order the women to go back inside immediately. the answer is no. we want to have a talk with the prison ward, we want to hand in our complaints".

two more screws and one incharge arrive. so five of them all together now: "get in, complaints are not allowed."

in the mean time the prisoners drop their instruments tools, so show they are not aggressive.

one screw starts to attack one of us, starts to beat her up. dragging her by the hairs, but he doesn't succeed in getting her out of the group. another prisoner is thrown on the ground. the 5 screws start to call for help, where as we are still waiting for a talk with the prison ward.

they return with two heavies, unknown to us, we have never seen them before. against 7 of them we are dragged back in again, one by one. meanwhile the cops arrived. too late.

back and locked up in our cells again we continue our noise-concert. the top floor is being told that their recreation time is being cancelled because of what happend. our reaction: even more noise, we won't be devided or shut up, no matter how hard they try.

a prisoner who is protesting loudly, is being kicked down the stairs and dragged in an isolation-cell.

another women gets ordered by 3 screws to undress herself. they want to do it themselves if she refuse. the noise in the block increases even more, all of us have lost the motion of time.

we hear tremendous noise upstairs, one of us is being dragged to an isolation cell. her own cell is being emptied by the screws. a procedure that continues for every one of us. they throw out every thing: tables, papers, toilet-paper, letters, books, posters; except for the mattresses, blankets and shit-buckets, that stay behind.

they then start a search operation. we are ordered to take off our shoes as well. down below a woman cries out in protest: "this is inhuman, what you are doing."

she is being put in isolation, too. after cells have been searched they even confiscate the shit-buckets, to prevent us of making noise with them. the radio is switched off, our alarm-bell is not being answered anymore. at least one woman is also denied her medication. they believe to have won another "battle" but we won't be intimidated, we gain strength by the minute."

sunday, the 17th of june: radio continues to be switched off, no telephone calls are allowed. the whole day they only let us out on the yard alone or in couples. but it is not permitted to come anywhere near the cell-block or to shout to the other prisoners. they still don't answer any ring for help. we have a shower alone or in couples.

in the afternoon we are informed about a decision by the prison ward: we are denied of our right to be on the yard in a group, because of the events yesterday, according to some kind of paragraph in the prison-regulations. it all started however with a request for a talk with him.

secondly we are locked in our cells 23,5 hours a day because of the insurrection. funny, because it all started after he ordered us to be locked up the whole day.

several things remain confiscated because they could possibly be damaged and it is state-property. not a word about the violent attacks by screws on the yard or against women in isolation cells. sexual violence. one woman was made an offer by the prison ward to join him for a weekend on the countryside, after this something could be "arranged".

sunday evening: many women get back their tobacco and some books. big plastic-bags filled with our personal belongings are given back, partially devastated or torn apart. the radio is switched on again.

but we are still not allowed to go on the yard with more than 1 or 2 women. we can make a telephone call again and still have our fists to make noise.

on sunday evening we make the decision to go for the last means still available: hungerstrike.

our demands:

- no more restriction concerning our time on the yard, recreation etc.
- a stop to arbitrary punishments like isolation, stripsearching or other violent acts.

hhhhh

at least one hour a day on the yard.

- recreation hours in the afternoon
- the possibility of preparing our trial together.

we are feeling strong!!! no pasaran!

this letter arrived on monday at the supporting group in groningen, they immediately produced a press statement in the same night and sent it around. surprisingly enough, it got quite some

response in the media. half of the women are still defended by two lawyers, who started when they were interviewed to denounce the gravity of the events in winschoten. on wednesday the 20th of june a delegation of the june a delegation-on the top the prison ward- left the prison to have a meeting with officials of the justice department in den haag. the result was not a consent to the demands of the prisoners but the decision was to transport all women to the male jail in hoogeveen on monday the 25th or tuesday the 26th. in hoogeveen is a modern prison, up to new european standard where the conditions for 24 other wnc-squatters. who were already locked up there, have proven to be harsh.

6 more women, imprisoned up to now in dordrecht, who went on hungerstrike too in solidarity with the women in winschoten, are supposed to be transferred to hoogeveen as well.



14 men, imprisoned in scheveningen, joined in the hungerstrike on thursday about 20 other will follow on monday. one man in zwolle, strictly isolated from all other wnc-prisoners and heavily interrogated because he is regarded as one of the "leaders", went on hungerstrike on wednesday, giving out a press-statement of his own, in which he also refers to the present hungerstrike by grapo and pce(r) prisoners in spain. on wednesday the prisoners in hoogeveen occupied the yard in solidarity with the struggle of the women in winschoten and also to demand a stop to the isolation of one of them, who is also considered a "leader" by the cops.

that is all for the situation as it is now, friday the 22nd of june. the prisoners feel strong and determined in their resistance against the conditions, they are confronted with.

1st of july:

in the last week the women stop their hungerstrike because all their demands were consent. with them nearly all of the prisoners stop the hungerstrike, except of one woman who strikes now for/with (we don't know this exact.) the one in zwolle who is still in isolationship. also we don't know if he is going on with the hunger strike or not.

this week (from the 2nd of july to th 10th of july) the trials will start.

the people from holland expect harsh sentences for the wnc squatters. look for informations and support the fight of them.

solidarity greetings to all of them from the editioners of clash!



# RARA ACTION

## DOCUMENTATION

### KOMMUNIQUE

this night we attacked the district-headquarter gelderland, vijverlaan 107 at arnhem and the district-headquarter overijssel, prins bernhardlaan 2 at oldenzaal with incendiary bombs. both headquarters belong to the royal marchaussee (frontier guards of netherlands)

the internal enemy

the "sluice-function" of our border doesn't exist anymore: unwanted foreigners and, for example also foreign criminals soon will be much less visible. at the border you are confronted with them, in the country you have to look for them special" (commander of the royal-marchaussee brigade zevenaar. in september 88 the netherlands parliament received two letters with the subject "royal marchaussee". the minister of defense and the permanent secretary of the ministry of justice did the announcement because of their responsibility, that 200 of 325 members of marchaussee will be used to check foreigners in the country because checks at the border will be abolished (EC 92) in the course of the - now delayed-installation of the schengen-convention the borders between the benelux-states, france and FRG will be gradually abolished. this causes among other things checkproblems concerning the defense of unwanted foreigners.

the checkpoints at the border will be transferred in the interior of the country.

this means the then permanent secretary of justice, korte van hemel: "the netherlands have a big attractive power for illegals." in a situation without a checked border she thinks that these people must be controlled in the big cities.

this is the new task for the royal marchaussee. they are an elite-police which belongs to the ministry of defense.

even before in the seventies they worked together with the foreigner-central-office of the amsterdam police, because the ministry of justice applies for it. they had to find and to deport illegal refugees. this development is continuing. the royal marchaussee will be used as a "flying brigade" in the big cities - as a special group - to find possible illegals. in the course of the foreigner-laws it is possible to stop and to check everybody if their is "an appropriate reason, that he/she is a foreigner. this "appropriate reason" is mostly based on the skin-colour. this is supported by the declaration of a member of the RMAR" with our experience we are able to recognize illegals by their outfit".

in the fight between the local and the state police (in NL are existing two different polices), or better, between the ministry of interior and the ministry of justice, the justice has forced a big space of freedom (for themselves). as soon as the local search-teams exist, the major won't have to give responsible reports to the district council, because that would cost too much time.

the now existing minimal possibilities of control about the present politic would disappear in a complete way.

in the course of this development the search-teams of the royal marchaussee will be shock troops of the ministry of justice.

not hindered by some kind of control, they will function like an independent part inside of the police organization. with the names which they receive directly by the the ministry of justice, the hunt of refugees will be realized more effective.

because of all this we choosed for our first action this elite-groups of this pursuit - against the boots in the street.

in spite of it is the first time we act against the netherlands refugee politics, we don't want to be understood in the way that we break up our political practise of the passed years. therefore there are no reasons. neither the situation in southafrica nor the habitation the netherlands government and economy gives a reason for that. the only thing which changed is, that the white apartheid regime had to give more space to the black resistance.

but the demand for sactions and international isolation of the white regime were left in same context. like for all others too, we've to look in priority for possibilities to support the resistance in southafrica.

we did it in the past and we do it once again!

however the fight against apartheid and racism do not end at the southafrican border. the anti-racism was always the soul of our action and declaration, with this action we change the accent. the attack at the refugee politics means not more and not less to draw the conclusions of our former declarations.

declarations with the point of view that the fights in the third world are connected with the fight against the political, military and economic institutions in the western part of the world. the institutions which organize and profit by oppression.

the racism in southafrica is installed by the apartheidpolitics. here the legal patended racism is the basis of refugeeepolitics. in this moment where the refugeeepolitics is be developed to a ruthless arresting- and deportationpolitic, it's time that we act - but not out of control.

the terror against refugees must be stopped because the refugeeepolitics produce space of hate against foreigners and canalize racism.

a reality which forced us unequivocal to move into position.

the political racism is no foggy phenomenon. there are directly responsible persons, institutions and organizations, they are creating these politics and carry them out. they are producing the imagination of refugees like "parasits" and "criminals".

they are the creators, designers and actors of the "official duty (mill)" which destroys the human dignity and corrupt everybody who is looking at this.

universal declaration of human rights:

art. 14: everybody who is persecuted has the right to search for and to get asyl in other countries

art. 13: everybody has the right to move free and to stay inside the border of a state

this sounds really good. you would accompany it with applause before it is spoken out completely. you'll be right. however, world-wide it emphasizes that the positions and declarations spoken out and written down - are only propaganda in the "cold war".

since years the refugees from the east were received with open arms. they were the living proove against communism.

the refugees of the south were made "profiteers" or "criminals". therefore they try to cover that the arising of refugeeemovements is a directly consequence of the western powerpolitic. refugeeemovements are often caused as a consequence of the capitalistic acting, for example from an organization like IMF (international monetary fund) or worldbank. they often like to forget that famines, poorness, coup d'etats, political repression and sexual force is not a result of a law of nature, but a directly consequence of the political, economic and social order....

the refugees from the south only will be a problem if a bigger part of these millions of refugees lay down their problems in our "proper gardens".

first then there will arise political, financial and human problems and the western governments are obliged to find an answer for the demand of asyl.

the ruling reaction of the western states is to close the nets and to block off europe. then the contradictions between the answers and the so-called starting-position will be visible: a few percents get a stamp "wanted" as a legitimation for declaring the masses as "unwanted".

the refugeeproblems is no individual social phenomenon. it shows in a direct way the circumstances of power and property. in this space every individuell refugee will be reduced to a product: only the one who is able to produce in a short time big profits is wanted. wanted is for example:

- refugees which can be used as a living political propaganda product like a short time ago the soviet and easteuropean refugees. or like the limited vietnamese boat people every year, meanwhile the others are forced to go back.
- refugees which are used for populationpolitics like jewish soviet refugees. they are figureheads in the demographic war against the palestinian people.
- refugees which are useful to solve special capitalistic problems. for example the desire of

unwanted are more than 90% - millions of people from africa, asia and latinamerica. mainly women and children which are famined and poor by war and often only reach the refugee-camps in the neighbouring country (which is often as poor as their own country).

the westgerman government to open the border for the refugees of GDR. that gives a billion-injection for the westgerman economy. at the same time the southafrican government took the chance to make a public relation campaign for former GDR-citizens to give importen positions in the economy to whiteskinned people.

unwanted is each woman who flees because of rape, maltreatment - the specific terror against woman won't be accepted as a reason for refugees. even not, if the terror takes place during a raide, in a police-station or in a torture-center. unwanted are nearly all woman and children, because there is no productive possibility to use them in accordance to the western capitalist standard; but they are wanted in the so-said third world as an excess labour supply for the multinationals.

unwanted are escaped resistance fighters from countries with violent and fascist governments, which have nevertheless a good relationship to the western states. reasons and effects of the development of refugee-movements are carefully covered up by the politicians. the reasons, why people are fleeing are left out of consideration.

also nobody discuss the system of criterion for "unwanted" persons are developed in proportion if they are usable or a dangerous for the political or social stability and not with consideration for the special history of the refugees at the same time there is the practise of the security-forces (like the bvd in the netherlands; office for the protection of the constitution) which offer residence permits for informations about particular political organisations or infiltration.

schengen: not even signed but used

schengen, the test for a united europe and a prototype for a society which is made for the need of the european capitalists. the schengen group is working in a mysterious and even for the parliament not to controll manner. in spite of this they make efforts to get the loyalty of the population. one of the most important efforts they make is to brainwash the population by a new european nationalism.





we have to start to think european, to recognize the big advantages of europe without borders. however we have to pay attention: we have to look that only less european persons can use the open borders to come into the netherlands and not millions of "foreign subjects" which try to get the big advantages of a united europe. the borders at the outside of europe have to be in a stronger reinforced concrete as the former iron curtain. (border towards the east, in german: eiserner vorhang)

the embassies of the countries where many refugees were expected from have the function of the border guard. they make a discouraging politic. airlines have to transport everybody without a visa back without to be payed. schengen (and now the european unification) gives instruments for this.

they use a "white-holland-pays-attention-to-black-holland" mentality. schengen gives the international arrangements for the refugee-policy and with this they are able to send the people back on basis of legal backing. it (the schengen arrangements) gives the arguments to intensify the search and the prosecute pressure insides of the borders to "sift the chaff from the wheat" (prime minister lubbers) and this is also the reason for the obviously unavoidable direction pointing to a duty of legitimation. that means a transfer of the identity controls at the border lines to an identity control by mobile brigades of the royal marchaussee in the whole country. the net is closed by the punishment already supposed for helping illegal persons. they are forced to create a certain mentality. every non-white person must prove irrefutably not being illegal, a criminal or a terrorist.

who is obliged to identify him/herself? the royal marchaussee is allowed to hunt whom? for to recognize illegal persons by their out-fit the royal marchaussee concerns to the experience which was already mentioned before: but it is nothing else than the fact that they can distinguish between black and white. this ability of the police is supported

among others by the prominent anti racist, anti-apartheid fighter par excellence, the chief of the most racist police group of the country.

"the royal marchaussee is an elite group, ready to operate at the foremost front of priority affairs and is set in for the surveillance of foreigners. the operation field of the royal marchaussee will not widen to raids against refugees", according to a speech of the burgermeister of amsterdam, van thijn, which he held on the occasion of the existing of the royal marchaussee now for 175 years; he even regards the mentality of the royal marchaussee and the conference on the summit (burgermeister, prosecutor of state, police) as a guaranty against such a repressive and racist policy...

in this context we have made plain the scope of our solidarity.

it is important to make clear this solidarity. many things have happened already: on the judicial level, there are actions, demonstrations, publications building up structures and so on...

people try hard to find space for residence and living, they collect money, try to find illegal jobs and to build up an alternative health organization. these are facts, but we must also see that the racist policy of the state



has gained success in a broader part of the popularity, the brainwashing is working at least.

Success above of all at the point where they managed to create a general "popular instinct", that insists in a large scale in the matter that people are tricked out by foreign subjects who call themselves refugees, but in fact they are only thieves of prosperity. an atmosphere came into being where it seems to be justified to look upon refugees as criminal groups, and to treat them in this way. this would also be in the interest of the perfidious refugees, we are told. they also contrived to cover up the action against (illegal) refugees in a shocking dimension, under the cloak of disguised linguistic usage, and to make people believe that the state would act very restrained and gentle. prisons are called whereabouts, internment camps are called flight-yards or -places, racism is called policy of discouragement, raids are called home visits, economical and social exclusion shall be bed-, bath-, and breadprovision... if the real content of these words becomes obvious after all, the policy soon has stiffed about three steps forward.

"We sit, and wait, and look at the faces of each other, it's a prison here. where shall you go with Fl.20.- pocketmoney a week." kurdish refugees in an internment camp.

otherwise it gets more and more silent. people are put away, into camps. starting positions of policy are formulated at secret meetings. Somewhere in europe, the concrete measures of this policy in small rooms in den haag. in the intervening period aeroplanes are rising. deported people are not able to protest any more. many of them are getting arrested, or harder, like in turkey or marokko... those who'll have their turn tomorrow are waiting at police-cells and prisons in the netherlands.

we think that the fight against this state-racism has to be integrated into the political acting of left-wing people more than in the past. the fight for the rights of refugees has to be raised away from a juridical

up to a political level. not only because racism should be combatted in a moral and political way, but also because racism and sexism are no aberration of this system, but a part of the instruments of the swearing classes. the social richness of the west would have to be graded, especially for those, who were forced to flee and who are in hostile surroundings like the west for foreign people and refugees.

not the refugee in general is a "object" of our solidarity. we leave a patriarchal relationship to other political forces, to those who earn the daily bread and butter by other people's distress.

on the contrary: each refugee has a history, and each history contains the most important elements of the recent history of the world-population's major parts. we know, that it isn't possible to reach concrete solutions under the existant circumstances of power. we don't want to be conducted by wishful thinking. hence this is not more than a small contribution. but out of our history, position and practice we try to develop a militant praxis in the aforesaid themes.

it isn't a pathological profession of faith if we say that we want a world without oppression, sweating, and poisoning, but it's the essence of a socialism as we imagine.

nevertheless the question, how do we imagine the steps on this way to look like, remains. contradictions arise, less people get more possibilities. you would think, that it leads to tensions, even to resistance, but we must state, that control of the people's heads grew to a new prison. the left-wing didn't stand beside so shocked any time,

while the differences between more or less poor, more or less prosecuted don't dissolve, but are rapidly rising. social structures are cut up, organisations are split up, dreams are said to be contaminated, the aim diffused. without mounting ourselves to the high horse: we, as a left-wing and revolutionary movement once more must try to built up

something together. militant resistance can be a factor of importance, can put it's finger on the sore spot. then the first step is the reorganisation, the sign of relief that something is happening. the following steps are much more harder all of us are a product of this society. individualists, each one for him/herself with dreams and rage, but realizing into a collective perspective, nevertheless it dies lapse during the daily fights for private perspectives, what unfortunately often isn't the same.

nevertheless we want to start it, not because we know it better, we really know, that militant actions by itself are not the stuff. 1, 2, 3 times an action in itself doesn't change something. we regard it as a contribution for more actions, ideas, discussions.

the deporting-machine does not move by itself, it's kept moving by menhunters and archaic culprits. we want to treat them in this way. the machine doesn't stay out of danger any longer. as we said before: the fight of the refugees has to be brought away of the juridical level to a political level. that means that refugees politics have to be drawn out of the hands of police, royal marchaussee and justice. that the forced stay in camps must be stopped, the institutions for foreigners and the special prisons have to be closed. refugees must have to dispose of all the necessary financial, juridical, social, educative and medical resources. these are the minimal conditions. it's also necessary to change the definition of the term refugee. to politicise. fleeing because of sexual repression like rape, forced removing, war and destruction of self-supply economies have to be accepted. the term "economic refugee" has to be crossed out.

(...not possible to translate...) poorness has to be an accepted reason of flight. to send them back cannot be the solution to this, but a fundamental alternation of the international economic system. until this time we will keep attacking and sabotaging their deporting-policy.

with kind regards, RARA





# DEVELOPMENT OF THE HUNGERSTRIKE UP TO NOW

since the 30th of november the prisoners of GRAPO and PCE(r) are on hungerstrike for their reunification. their state of health is very bad. comrade Jose Manuel Sevillano Martin is dead, he died during this fight. the Spanish government keeps her hard attitude, there are neither negotiations nor concessions, they stick to the doctrine of NATO and the agreements of the TZREVI-group. the assimilation of conditions in west-europe is going on. the press in Spain has informed again only when Jose was dead already. after a long phase of conscious silence now arises the indignation in the liberal publicity.

we were not able to work out more concretely an analysis of the actual political situation in Spain. we miss a concrete and continuous discussion with comrades from there. but in spite of the national peculiarities in the history of fights and the strategy of the government the west-european context comes out very clearly. this context was also recognized by the revolutionary prisoners latesty during the hungerstrike of prisoners of the RAF and resistance in the year of 84/85; since then they have analyzed it often and made it practical in their fights. there is a common fight in the NATO-prisons against the torture of isolation - for assemblation and political status, for the freedom of the heavy ill prisoners.

## HUNGERSTRIKE

on the 21st of september 1989 the prisoners of GRAPO and PCE(r) finish with a hungerstrike they have begun on the 21st of august in the prison of "El Acebuche"/Almeria against the bad conditions there. they gained the concession to be transferred from Almeria to another prison with conditions of mans dignity. in their declaration of breaking-off the strike they say: "...in spite of the success we must not fall into illusions. we must be aware that the improvements we could wrest from them now with our hungerstrike can vanish away again soon..."

in the morning of the 9th of november 4 militants of PCE(r) and GRAPO arrested in Soria, 4 imprisoned women arrested in Carabanchel and a prisoner from Daroca are transferred into other prisons. on the following day 7 prisoners who have been in the prison-hospital of Carabanchel since the hungerstrike of 21st of september are torn apart as well and brought to 7 different prisons. all these prisoners took part in the hungerstrike. it seems very clear that these transferrings were an act of revenge planned by the government against the success of the strike.

this act of the government is part of her politics of dispersion they began d1987 with the destruction of the big communities "comuna Carlos Marx" and "comuna Carmen Lopez Sanchez" and that finally led to an aggravation of conditions of arrest in all prisons. they use all means: drastic shortenings of the common "free" time, restrictive means concerning the communication with people outside including absolute cut off of contact, beatings, permanent provocations, menacings of death and of building up a GAL (para-military squadrons of death) in the prison, censorship of letters etc.

out of this situation all the members of the community, who are still in Soria, militants of PCE(r) and GRAPO and a liberty prisoner start a hungerstrike without time-

limit. quotation of the declaration of hungerstrike: "...after 3 years of fight, resistance, denunciation of the agreements that were not filled in and considering the new means preparing our extermination we see: there is no solution-in-between, and the hour has come to begin the fight for the reunification. facing the politics of liquidation and extermination of the political prisoners - basing on torture and dispersion - we have only one way out: the unlimited hungerstrike for the reunification of all under conditions of mans dignity and honour..."

during the strike more and more prisoners join. already after a short time some of them fall into coma, again and again they are torn back by the torture of forcible feeding. some prisoners make actions like tearing off the tubes for the forcible feeding, which causes their transferrings back to the prisons. in february 90 many prisoners are in a state of precoma. many are fed forcibly, but not all of them.

among the doctors in Spain it comes to discussions about the forcible feeding. singular doctors, for example in Zaragoza, reject it. they get disciplinary punishments.

HUNGERSTRIKE

SPAIN

in march GRAPO executes a doctor in Zaragoza who shared in the practising of the forcible feeding materially. after

that many doctors in the hospital of Zaragoza refuse to take part in the forcible feeding. but the attack does not effect reactions from many more doctors in Spain.

on the 17th of may Jose Manuel Sevillano Martin, militant of GRAPO, dies after having been attached to an oxygene-machine for a few days, because his heart and lunque did not work any more. after months of forcible feeding and a demand of some prisoners the doctors of the civil hospital in Madrid refused to continue with it. after Joses death all were fed forcibly again.

the 'pigs have murdered Jose. we must see clearly that the Spanish government has provoked and planned in cold blood the death of Jose or other prisoners. for to prevent this escalation they would have had to fill in the demands of the prisoners. the actual situation of the strike is: all prisoners in the prison-hospital of Carabanchel are fed forcibly, if it is not practised directly in the prisons. again and again there are retransfers to the prisons. some more prisoners have joined the strike, so that are now again 44 striking. 2 prisoners - Olegario Sanchez and Francisco Brotons - are in very bad condition. the prisoners dont finish the strike. they continue fighting for their demands.

THE GOVERNMENT OF GONZALES on the 31st of january 90 the Spanish minister of justice Mugica confirms the rejection of any negotiations. until today he has not changed fundamentally this attitude. the means used against the prisoners in a state of absolute physical weakness or even danger of death show enough the aim of the Spanish social-fascists, namely to break the fight of the prisoners

and to exterminate them. in the meantime the confrontation is very high, not at last because of Joses death. the situation is very tense and in opposite to the beginning of the strike there is a great presence of police. they react hard on every sign of solidarity.

SOLIDARITY IN THE PRISONS on the 26th of december 90 the collective of captured militants from Actione Directe in Fresnes (France) declares her solidarity with the hungerstrike in Spain: "...for us as political prisoners in France it is indispensible to show our solidarity with the fight of our comrades, because their demands, their resistance is our resistance, their fight our fight. the fight of all revolutionary prisoners in west-europe..."

many prisoners of RAF and resistance in FRG make limited hungerstrikes in solidarity. it is a chain and every week a new prisoner (new prisoners) goes on strike. the ministry of justice reacts directly menacing that they will sepe-rate the german small-groups of prisoners gained with the last hungerstrike 1989, and the common freetime is really shortened. the censorship aggravated. it becomes obvious that every expression concerning the reunification and solidarity with the Spanish comrades shall be nipped in the bud. until today the solidarity strikes of the German political prisoners continue. being totally isolated with no possibility of common discussion among the prisoners they needed a long time and a few declarations of singular prisoners until they could finally work out a common declaration. on the 9th of march it is published. now

the prisoners of AD are on solidarity hungerstrike as well. additionally the prisoners of CCC in Belgium declared their solidarity on the 20th of january90, and later 4 prisoners of Brigade Rosse from the collective Wotta Sita in Italy. in their declarations they all describe the same situation in the different countries: the assertion of the european project against the political prisoners and a process of assimilation concerning the conditions of arrest in the western-european prisons. but they also talk of a common aim, which is the common demand developed out of the historical and present conditions in each country: reunification.

## cronology

30.11.1989 beginning of the hungerstreik.

## december 1989

prisoners of eta start a campaign of "selfisolation" against the transfers in summer 1989.

13.12. grapo attack a major in madrid.

15.12. grapo attack a colonel in valencia.

18.12. grapo attack a policeman in prat de llobregat.

25.12. 8 prisoners are brought into hospital and are nourished through the veins by order of a judge. grapo liquidate 2 members of guardia civil in gijon in connection with the transferrings of prisoners. the ministry of justice accuses an advocat in front of the general public prosecutor for having sent pamphlets of grapo into prison.

22.12. the relations of the prisoners occupy the "red cross" in madrid.

26.12. baskish prisoners go into hungerstrike against the transferrings of eta-prisoners

end of december: manifestacion at the spanish embassy in zürich.

## january 1990

in the prison of guadalajara 4 prisoners of grapo start a thirststrike against being chained with handcuffs.

3.01. 24 prisoners of grapo are brought into hospital of several cities in spain because their state of health gets worse.

4.01. in bretanzos(galicia) 2 supposed members of grapo are arrested and brought



## february

2.02. demonstration with 200 people in madrid.

4.02. demonstration for human rights in bilbao, they declare their solidarity with the prisoners in hunger-strike.

5.02. members of the "association of support of the political prisoners in spain" in belgium chain themselves at the fences of the spanish emassy and the "banco central"

7.02. occupation of the european parliament by relations of the political prisoners in frg.

8.02. ocupacion of the spanish embassy in hamburg.

10.02. manifestation at the spanish embassy in hannover.

9.02. manifestation and blockade at the "reichstag" in berlin during a meeting of all westeuropean socialdemocratic parties.

16.02. ataques against building machines, a car company and an office of the social-democratic party in cologne. manifestation at a propaganda-table of the spanish touristic agency on the fair "travels 90" in hamburg.

18.02. prisoners from brigade rosse in italy refuse to go back into their cells after the court.

23.02. door locks of touristic agencies, institutions of state and spanish and german banks are destroyed with gluer in zürich.

## march

demonstration to the ministry of justice in madrid.

2.03. occupation of the european office of the social-democratic party in frankfurt.

5.03 action of the relations of political prisoners in germany at the anti-torture-committee of the european parliament in straßburg.

9.03. tago(a train of the spanish national railway company renfe), which goes from bern to barcelona is coloured with red in switzerland. once more beginning of solidarity hungerstrikes of the political prisoners in frg.

12.03. at the spanish embassy

advocats of political prisoners in frg give a protest letter to the spanish government.

18.3. demonstration with several hundreds of people in Santiago de Compostela.

21.3. manifestation in Konstanz on the occasion of german-spanish consultations and amecting between Kohl and Gonzales.

2 spanish prisoners - Olegario Sanchez Corrales and Francisco Sela - start a communication strike additional to the hungerstrike to gain medical treatment and to stop any kind of medicine in the forcible feeding.

23.3. occupation of an office of the german press-agency in Oldenburg by 3 people. Heike Habel and Edzard Staben get arrested.

27.3. GRAPO liquidates a doctor in Zaragoza. he practised the forcible feeding on 2 prisoners and he stood up personally for using this means on the prisoners. RARA makes an attack at the ministry of justice in Netherlands.

some of the spanish prisoners have grown blind as a result of the hungerstrike. the "fighting-committee" of french prisoners of AD writes a solidarity declaration.

## april:

1.-8.4. solidarity-strikes from prisoners of AD in France.

2.4. the spanish prisoners write a postcard to the german political prisoners.

demonstration against the NATO-military-base in Madrid (Torrejon). one of the speeches is about the hungerstrike and the connection with the NATO-strategy. "lets prevent the gradual murder on the political prisoners! their fight against the destruction is a fight against all plans of the NATO!2

Francisca Villalba and some of her colleagues from the group "young advocats" in Madrid occupy the office of the association of advocats for an indefinite time.

10.4. the warrant of arrest against Heike and Edzard (the 2 people from Oldenburg) is removed.

15.4. people from FRG take part in a demonstration for free Bask country because of the hungerstrike.

16.4. German people make a radio-program about the hungerstrike in a free radio in Pamplona. it lasts 1 1/2 hours.

17.4. relations of the spanish prisoners chain themselves in front of the ministry of justice and make a manifestation together with German and Spanish comrades.

18.4. as a reaction to GRAPOs liquidation of the doctor in Zaragoza the prisoners are brought back into the prisons or into the prison-hospital of Madrid (Carabanchel, the only prison-hospital in Spain!). there have been protests of doctors in the civil hospitals against the forcible feeding. an explosive attack on Seat in Braunschweig (FRG) fails.

22.4. a lively admitted festival of the culture-propaganda-show "our house Europe" in Duisburg is disturbed by a group of people for to break the non-information concerning the hungerstrike.

the 26. of april shall be a day of solidarity-actions in the FRG.

162nd day of the hungerstrike: 4 prisoners have been transferred into prisons on the Canarian Islands, 2 of them to Teneriffa, 2 to Gran Canaria. the transport was by ship and lasted 3 days, this after more than 5 months of hungerstrike!

26.4. sprayings in Nürnberg, public meetings in Tübingen, Gießen, Cologne. the office of support of the fighting prisoners called "red saw" in Berlin makes information tables and collects more than 100 signatures for the reunification of the prisoners in Spain. they are sent to the Spanish embassy in Bonn.

## may:

10.5. demonstration in Cologne, about 100 people. manifestation at the Spanish consulate in Hannover.

16.5. Jose Manuel Sevillano Martin clinical dead: after they had stopped the forcible feeding for 5 days Jose's heart and breath came to a standstill. for a short time they could not measure any impulses from his brain. since then he was in coma and attached to an oxygene-machine. the stopping of the forcible feeding was a consequence of a communique of some prisoners who had been transferred from Carabanchel to civil hospitals. in this communique they call up on the civil doctors to refuse practising the forcible feeding, what many of them actually do.

3 other prisoners were also in a very critical condition, but have gone better again according to El Pais (18.5.). all of them are tortured with the forcible feeding again. the prisoners repeat that they will continue with the fight. nearly all prisoners have sores at the hips as a result from lying all the time. the relations must care for them and doctor their wounds with cellucotton etc. the Spanish government gives no sign at all of filling in the demands of the prisoners. the Spanish government starts a security plan.

17.5. after 167 days of hungerstrike Jose Manuel Sevillano Martin dies.

18.5. manifestation in Carabanchel, afterwards a spontaneous demonstration around the hospital with at about 30 persons. the police drives into the crowd and beats the people up with truncheons. several people get injured heavily. they go into the ambulance of the hospital to receive medical treatment and the police enters into the ambulance and beats the injured people again. one person is arrested. he gets an accusation which might bring him to prison for 6 years. the police has beaten up especially and most brutally those persons who are not relations of the prisoners. solidarity declaration from a demonstration against the military-service in Madrid. the public prosecutor takes new proceedings against the advocat Francisca Villalba for "common work with a criminal unification". blockade of the Spanish company of commerce in Darmstadt.

26.5. a branch of "deutsche bank" is smashed in Bielefeld

27.5. the police shoots with live ammunition into a demonstration against the murder of Jose and in solidarity with the prisoners. 1 guy from the demo and a woman who passed by get injured by bullets.

into prison. their names: jose luis elipe lopez and maria victoria gomez mendez. she joins the hungerstrike directly. before boxed their ears and put pressure on them psychically.

Juan Manuel Olarrieta Alberdi, advocat of 3 captured women of GRAPO, informs against the general director of prison authorities and against the leader of the police in bilbao for having been forbidden to see his clients.

6 prisoners in soria are transferred into the prisons of alcala meco(madrid) and ocaña(toledo).

12.01. manifestation at the spanish embassy in Bonn.

13.01. decree of the supervisory judge: the prisoners shall not forcibly until they fall into coma.

15.01. 6 prisoners are in coma already.

19.01. CCOO(tradeunion) requests moscoso to open a preliminary investigation against the general director of prison authorities for having sent a circular letter in which he obliges the officials to practice the forcible feeding with physical submissiveness.

7 prisoners are in very bad condition.

20.01. the prisoners of CCC in begum write a solidarity declaration.

22.01. several prisoners of RAF and from the resistance in the FRG start a chain of solidarity-hungerstrikes each limited to 1 week. solidarity action in the city of Hamburg with burning piles of sawdust.

25.01. "crowd against the speculation in zürich" in solidarity with the hungerstrike.

26.01. 2 prisoners tear off the tubes for the forcible feeding. manifestation from relations and people of the resistance at the spanish embassy in Frankfurt.

27.01. relations of the spanish prisoners chain themselves in front of the lawcourt in bilbao. manifestation at the spanish embassy in zürich.

29.01. 3 prisoners are in danger of death. it is clear that they will keep irreversible injuries. manifestation at the spanish airline company "iberia" in Hamburg. manifestation at the spanish embassy in Bern.

30.01. the spanish association for human rights "APDHE" repeats her offer to interpose between the prisoners and the government.

31.01. the minister of justice Mugica confirms his attitude: there will be no negotiations. stones and red colour against the spanish embassy and the swiss-spanish chamber of commerce. the Bask prisoners finish with their hungerstrike.



# ABOUT THE HISTORY OF GRAPO AND PCE(r) AND THE PRISON-FIGHTS

after Francos death the Spanish government changed their mask: from an obviously fascist military-dictatorship to a civil democracy, following the example of other west-european states under social-democratic leadership (FRG, Sweden, Netherlands...). the political situation in Spain and in western-europe made this change necessary. in Spain: fights against restructuring, worker-strikes, demonstrations, demands of the farmers for an extensive land reform were getting stronger during the last phase of Francos dictatorship. big parts of the population were not loyal towards the state. the antifascist consciousness among the people was very great. growing more radical and broad the national liberation fights especially in Euskadi and Catalonia caused a big problem for the government. in different countries the Spanish state was considered as a fascist regime. the process of moving closer together of the west-european states (on political, economical and military level) made the Spanish bourgeois react, that means to take part in this development. therefor a modernization of the system was necessary. this change was prepared even in the last period of the Franco-dictatorship. after his death this was presented as the "big change to democracy", but the structure of the Spanish state did not change. the fascists in the military, police and in the judicial system kept their positions.

on the one hand the so called democratizing should make Spain more attractive for the other countries, so that they could join the chain of west-european states; later through accession to EC and NATO. on the other hand it

it was a new attempt to introduce the final destruction of the social fights and the national liberation movements. as there was lack of a mass conformable to the state during the Franco-system was a problem which should be solved now by the incorporation of the big reformist and revisionist parties (PSOE - socialists, PCE - communists). from the beginning the PSOE, which is now governing since 1982, adopted the function to integrate the reformists and to recreate social peace; at the same time to strike back the radical forces brutally.

the model of democratizing and social pacification was rooted in the deep crisis of the Spanish state after Franco. they had to solve the problem of an economical crisis on a long term, that meant restructuring of the whole economic system for the accession to the european inland-market. and to create a new loyalty towards the state in the people, which makes it politically possible to isolate and strike the radical fights.

in this situation the PCE(r) and her armed wing GRAPO were founded. PCE(r) as a clandestine organized party wanted to take on the missing revolutionary leadership and ideological orientation for the working class during this period. from the beginning their political fight was also directed against the old fascist/capitalist structures behind the new mask of civil democracy.

GRAPO as an armed organization is submitted to the political party PCE(r). GRAPO are structured into several cells operating independently from each other and they have an autonomous leadership. building up a peoples army as an important part of a peoples republic in Spain is their most important strategic aim.

GRAPOs first attack was on the 1st of october 1975, they executed 4 policemen. this was their reaction to the last strike of the Franco-regime on the 27th of september of the same year, when militants of ETA and FRAP were shot in Barcelona and Madrid.

the attempt of the government to make the "social reconciliation" did not work in this phase. the workers fights continued with occupations of factories in 1976, 100.000 people demonstrated for the amnesty of political prisoners. in an interview GRAPO say about this phase: "...from the beginning the socialists started their repressive and reactionary policy. they murdered Martin Luna (leader of GRAPO), put up the prizes, made arbitrary restructurings, reductions of habitations like never before, they brought us NATO, torture, massive razzias, the dirty war etc..."

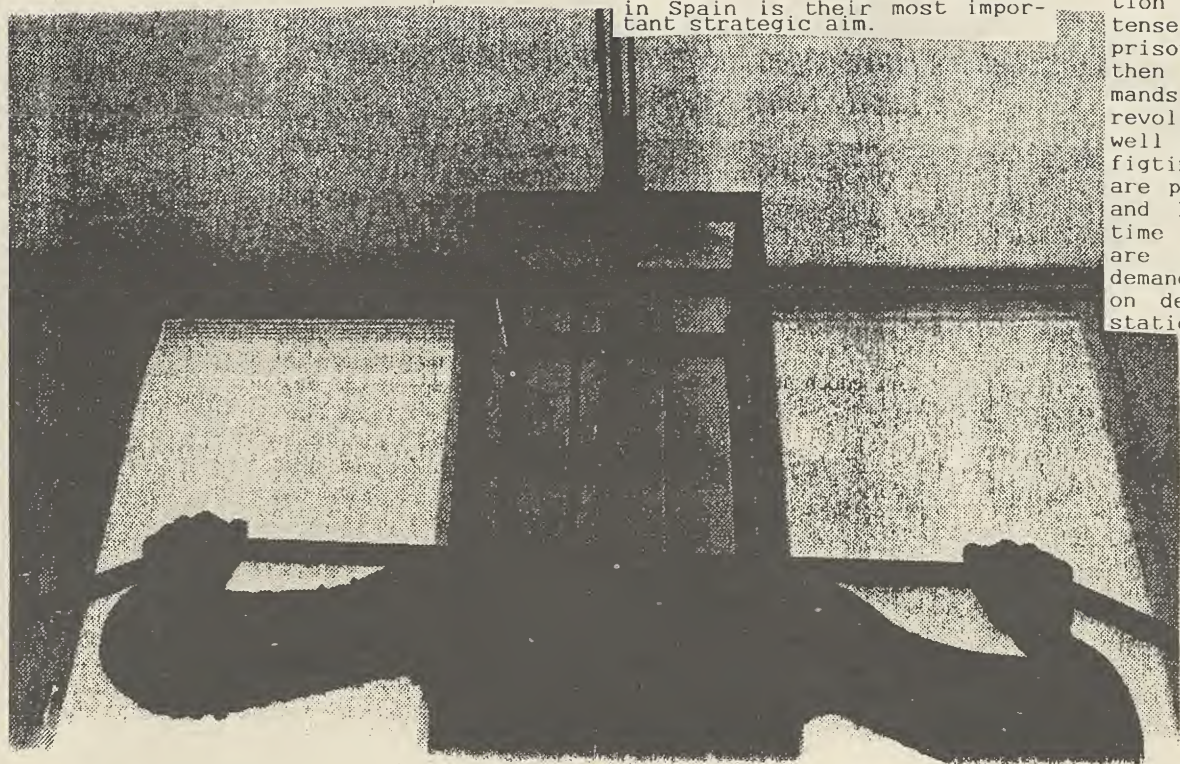
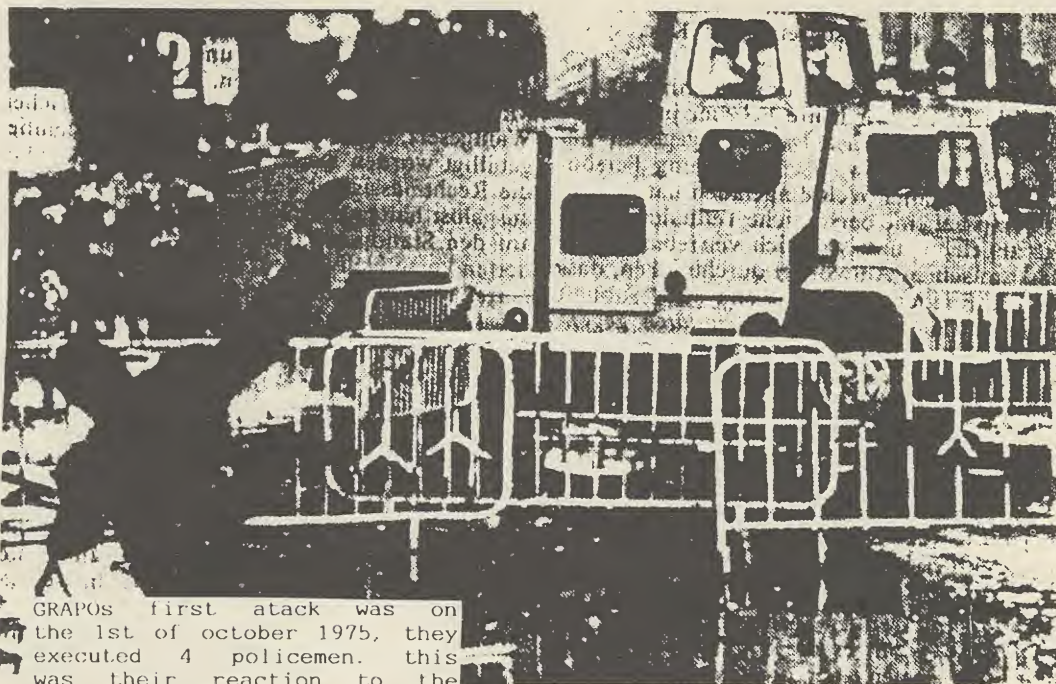
in july 76 GRAPO declared themselves responsible for 30 explosions. in december 76 they kidnapped the president of the state council, in january 77 the general lieutenant of the army.

trying to keep the facade of the reform the government makes an amnesty for the political prisoners in 77. a fake: the prisoners of GRAPO and PCE(r) are not set free, and one day after many militants of ETA are arrested again respectively anew. the situation in the prisons is very tense. social and political prisoners support and strengthen each other in their demands. there are common prison revolts. in the streets as well the topic of the prisoners fighting is present. there are protests against the white and bloody torture. at this time many AFAPP-committees are founded, they make the demands of the prisoners public on demonstrations and manifestations.

the government makes a new attempt to stop this development transferring the political prisoners into special divisions and using more and more the total-isolation against the prisoners, according to the model of FRG. the anarchist prisoner Agustin Rueda is tortured to death. GRAPO reacts to this escalation of violence against the prisoners with the liquidation of the general director of prisons. another attempt to break the fight of the political prisoners is the forcing of the project of repentance, which means to make the prisoners abjure from their political ideas and from the armed fight. this is called "social reintegration" by the government.

from 78-81 they keep on pursuing this strategy. many prisoners are brought to the first high security prison of Spain - Herrera de la Mancha, built following the example of german isolationprisons like Stammheim - and are isolated there. first of all the biggest part of GRAPO-prisoners is in Zamora, after the escape of 5 prisoners in december 79 the members of the group are distributed to 3 prisons of the state, among others Herrera de la Mancha. after the arrival in the new jails the prisoners are beaten into pulps and thrown into isolation cells. again and again the prisoners of GRAPO and PCE(r) organize riots and hungerstrikes defending themselves against the permanent torture and harassment. in this phase they gain support for their fight from parts of the population. additionally they get promises from the government concerning improvements of their conditions of arrest, but they are never filled in.

on the 14th of march 81 the GRAPO and PCE(r) prisoners start a big hungerstrike. their demands are the evacua-





tion of the prisoners from Herrera de la Mancha and the reunification in one prison. at that time the political situation in Spain is very strained. in february there was a military putsch which failed. the anti-NATO movement is increasing among the population. there are strikes in many factories. the hunger-strike is accompanied by many demonstrations. occupations of churches and consulates. parts of the workers declare their solidarity with the prisoners. the greatest mass-mobilization is in Euskadi; several prisoners of ETA have joined the hungerstrike. on the 19th of june the prisoner cresco "Cepa" Gallende dies. the staff of the hospital in La Paz refuses to practise the forcible feeding. finally, on the 25th of june, the spanish government gives in. the prisoners of Herrera de la Mancha are evacuated one by one, the women come together in the prison of Vesperias, the men in Soria. these transfers last until the end of 1983.

this result of the hungerstrike was a victory. the prisoner groups "comuna Carlos Marx" in Soria and "comuna Carmen Lopez Sanchez" in Vesperias have made visible and understandable the importance of the reunification even far away from the border of Spain. the prisoners made handicraft works, wrote books and pamphlets, worked on political analysis, made broadcasting programs, discussed with comrades from outside and in other prisons by common letters etc. the communities showed a perspective also for the fight against the isolation in other west-european countries

in 1982 the socialist party with Felipe Gonzales at its top takes the place of the UCT-government. shortly after follows Spains accession to the NATO, in contrast to the election promises of the PSOE: to keep out of the NATO and create 800.000 vacancies. 1986 follows Spains accession to the EC.



Zusammengelegte Frauen aus GRAPO + PCE (r)

in 1987 the TREVI-group decides that the prisoner communities must and will be destroyed. and since 1987 the Spanish PSOE government has followed these directions of TREVI practising consequently and on a new level a strategy of extermination against the political prisoners, mainly by transferring them step by step into all prisons of the whole state. in the summer of 87 the big communities are torn apart and the prisoners are distributed to several prisons of the country. the terror against the prisoners aggravates: they are beaten up, visits from friends and relatives are shortened. the transfers also affect the prisoners of ETA, who had gained a community in Herrera de la Mancha as well.

since then the prisoners of GRAPO and PCE(r) have made campaigns, protest actions and hungerstrikes to gain reunification in big groups again. after each strike the government made small concessions and promised improvements, but all these were taken back again after each phase of mobilisation. until the end of 1989 the situation of many GRAPO-prisoners was as follows: they were arrested in one prison with one or two comrades and/or sometimes with prisoners of ETA. this situation was nearly comparable with the 3 small-groups of RAF-prisoners in FRG.

Eva Alonso, prisoner of GRAPO, evaluated these mini-groups as follows: "...they have let us come together, which has to be considered as an important little step - though it is not a "step backwards" with regard to the governments plans with us. all the solidarity that has developed after the transfers (june 87), espe-

cially in the new regions where they have brought us, has made them decide not to let grow too many breeding grounds of resistance. and as they had three problems with us before, now they have only one (she was together in Castellon with two other women of GRAPO). and actually we are separated from each other in spite of that and we do not break their politics of dispersion in this way. it is paradoxical, this "solution" seems to help them and us. so we consider it as positive, though we know that it has nothing to do with our aim - the reunification and that they will go on with their plans..."

until the end of 89 the Spanish government actually consequently kept on transferring the political prisoners into 16 prisons of Spain.



#### the context

the position of the spanish government can't be seen isolated from the development of the other european countries. it is not to cut from the preparations for the jubilees in 1992 in spain (sevilla, barcelona), the expand of the formation of the european countries. in view of 92 the spanish social-democracy wants to and has to (is forced) present herself in western conditions, as they were defined by the TREVI-group and carried through by the ministers of justice and interior of the 12 EC-states. this further means the destruction of the prisoners collectives and the solution of the problem political prisoners in general. this is what we want to develop here a bit.

in 1986 was the trial against ingrid barabass and mareille schmegner, imprisoned women of the resistance in FRG for membership in the RAF. but this trial was not only a large-scaled trial to criminalize the resistance in FRG and to carry through the construct of "gesamt-RAF" (RAF on the whole) against the structures of the resistance. simultaneous the trial

has had the function for their standardization of europe, for their legal-area, for their standardized counter-insurgency. in this way, the comrades of GRAPO and PCE(r), in spain assembled in the collectives "commune karl marx" should been stamped too as a terrorist union in jail. for this reason, they used mareilles correspondence with prisoners in spain. this aimed directly on smashing the assembling obtained by fighting in spain 1981. in winter 89 their were the first attempts, against which the prisoners struggled successfully with a hungerstrike. with this indictment in the trial the BAW (federal public prosecutors office) in FRG wanted to give arguments to the spanish government for smashing the prisoners collective. so they undertook in this trial against mareille and ingrid the function of an european investigation headquarter. a similar push came from the french justice. in france their was a big trial against two comrades of GRAPO and PCE(r), in which documents about the "commune karl marx" were demanded too.

in fact, france as well as FRG thereby undertook too the leadership in the united combat against the prisoners in western-europe. the two collectives of the spanish prisoners of GRAPO and PCE(r) had to disappear because they were contradictory to isolation-torture in FRG. this line was a reaction to the community-spirit of the political prisoners in western-europe which becomes apparent in their fights for collective conditions of living and working. for example during the hungerstrike of the political prisoners of RAF and resistance in FRG in the winter of 1984/85, when in france prisoners of action directe and l'internationale also fought with hungerstrike for their assembling and in spain the prisoners of GRAPO and PCE(r) supported this fight with their solidarity. against that the counterinsurgency-project planned the same torture for all political prisoners in the concentration-camps of NATO. because of many actions, public relations and the engagement of the spanish lawyers which made evidences about the commune karl marx in the trial, the BAW wasn't able to criminalize the collectives in spain in a juristic manner. but it but it was reached a further step in working together concerning counter-insurgency in the westeuropean countries. in november 86 gonzales invited for an international TE-conference in spain, which has had the concrete proclamation to work together all over europe. besides their was a special TREVI-meeting about the situation in spain. this have been the concrete steps to pull through the destruction of the collectives nevertheless and to destroy what the prisoners and the solidarity-movement had reached in former years..



this action was accompanied by the proclamation of the spanish government to build up a government-pact against terrorism, pact which all reactionairs saw as a necessity, from the united left to the ultra-right. a pact not only against the armed struggle but against all who resist. the youth in euskadi, the workers, just everyone who doesn't allow to be knocked to pieces, how it is the situation also in many other countries. the "anti-terror-comission" of NATO says in spring 1988: "speed the policy of resocialising...the "hard"

and those who are upholding political relations, isolate...". the nato-strategy of aimed destruction with isolation-torture becomes visible by the initiative/the hungerstrike of the political prisoners of GRAPO and PCE(r). the project of the EC/NATO-states against the political prisoners aims to recantation, subjection or destruction. it's a plan, a project, with which the political prisoners all over western-europe are confronted. the imperialistic power tries to rise up in marching eastwards and with the forming of an united europe. they have to roll back the contractions and antagonisms, and, if possible, to destroy them. in this manner the imprisoned revolutionaries are standing in the first line because they are an example and because they hold on their revolutionary identity. that's why the pigs hold on their hard line, that's why don't accept the assemblage anywhere. with the simultaneous increase of the conditions of detention they use concepts of integration in "standard detentions" or ease the detention, combined with recantation, as it was first used against the prisoners of the brigade rosse in italy.

the gonzales-regime systematically pushes forward the destruction of the fighting collectives since 1987 and in this way forces the standardisation of the counter-revolutionary norms. it is supported by FRG and france and gets the backing of the whole economic-political power of europe.

until the jubilees in sevilla and barcelona in 92 the spanish government has to get rid of the problem of political prisoners, to wipe out a contradiction. they have to - and are only able in this way - keep up a strong position in europe. a line which was decided in the TREVI-group.

this is the confrontation which the political prisoners are in now in spain, against the interest of concentration of capital and power in an united europe.

its up to us how far they come with their plans. the solidarity-activities concerning the hungerstrike are a beginning, even if they are still weak and few. every action is important.

to this the prisoners of GRAPO and PCE(r) says in a postcard to the imprisoned comrades in FRG:

"we are sure, that a victory in this struggle would be important to brake the plans of destruction, which all countries of NATO against all political prisoners want to advance, for continuing the attack against the resistance and all peoples of europe.



# THE ACTUAL<sup>LY</sup> STRATEGY OF REPRESSION TO DESTROY RESISTANCE

on dec. 7th, 89 two people of west germany resistance, ute and holger, were arrested. the security forces connected the arrest to the execution on herrnhäusen. on nov. 30, 89 in bad homburg both were prosecuted for 'membership of raf'. by a week of a strong as never smear-campaign of the press the security forces pushed through the public acceptance of thinking them as 'command members of raf'.

in 1988 ute and holger elude arrest cause of a threatening imprisonment for a manifestation in favour of assemblage, the release of sick prisoners, and the organisation of resistance. further 'proofs' were the things to be said found with them: a weapon, forged documents, car registration doubles and so called 'typical raf documents'. in spite of lacking proofs the security forces thought proper on the arrest of ute and holger.

to succeed the investigation which they needed after the execution of herrnhäusen very urgently, they could use ute and holger very well. so they transformed two persons of resistance into members of raf's command level.

after they were arrested they got into isolation-detention. isolation-detention is a well researched torture-program. it aims at political prisoners to break and destroy their political identity. the torture by isolation attacks and weakens the body and psyche: permanent lack of oxygen and stimulus provoke concentration disorder and disorientation. permanently the prisoners have to fight this. this permanent existing stress provokes defenses as well.

at march 14th, 90 ute had an 'accident' in her cell. a fortnight later her warrants of arrest were 'suspended' what means if she will have recovered they will have the possibility to sentence her.

now we want to explain the history of ute and the actual situation; the situation of ute and the raid of the hafenstraße in hamburg. the contents of the criminalized manifestation took place on oct. 18th, 85, anniversary of the murder on andreas baader, gudrun enslin and jan carl raspe. it was mirroring the discussion concerning revolutionary politics in FRG. the situation in 1984-1986 was characterized by offensive activities of the political prisoners, the

raf in underground and people of the anti-imperialistic and autonomous resistance. for example: hungerstreik in 1984/85 connected with militant actions and attacks by raf against us-military establishments, 'day x' - start of the nuclear dumping in gorleben and resistance against this, demonstrations after the death of günter saxe in frankfurt during an anti-fascist demo, discussions concerning a revolutionary front in europe, anticapitalistic congress in frankfurt in the beginning of 1986. it seems that it was the result of the willing of a real common, wider and more effective resistance of a common enemy and similar conditions in western europe countries.

in the

FRG

the congress was an effort to transform the idea of 'front' into a perspective beyond the synchronism of action and attacks.

one important theme of many discussions and actions was the situation of the prisoners and the demand for assemblage. outside of the prisons it was supported almost exclusively by people of the autonomous and anti-imperialist resistance - different as in 1989.

this struggle was fought on different levels: directly by the prisoners during hungerstrike but also by a lot of people outside organising initiatives, attacks, manifestations - always with the slogan of assemblage.

in 1984 the security-forces succeeded in arresting several members of raf and putting them to trial.

the trials against seven members of raf and claudia of the resistance, was a further level for discussions and actions.

but the repression-machinery (bka - federal criminal investigation department; baw - federal public prosecutors office; civil service and cops) didn't sleep. it was the time of attacking legally the public discussion concerning resistance-politics, manifestations, leaflets, letters with 129a.

in this context the manifestation was criminalized, for which ute and holger should be sentenced. christof was sentenced for the very same manifestation to 18 month detention.

the pigs constructed the expression 'gesamt-raf' (raf as a whole), which was said to operate on different levels: the prisoners in jail, the command-level in underground and the people of the resistance who are living in legality ('legal-raf'). in almost all the trials against the prisoners of guerilla and resistance during the last years the pigs wanted to construct a legal approval of the 'gesamt-raf' figment. they said guerilla, 'fighting units', anti-imperialistic resistance and prisoners are raf. they argued with the strategic papers on raf from 1982 (may-paper). it was said to be a plan for the organisational structure of raf. but the may-paper was the presentation of raf's ideas for a western-europe front against imperialism. they used the figment of 'gesamt-raf' to include all struggling people, living in underground or not, into anti-guerilla warfare.



the following years were to show that they've created a situation easy to prosecute and to detain people of resistance. the date of utes, holgers and christof's trials was fixed on april 22th, 1988.

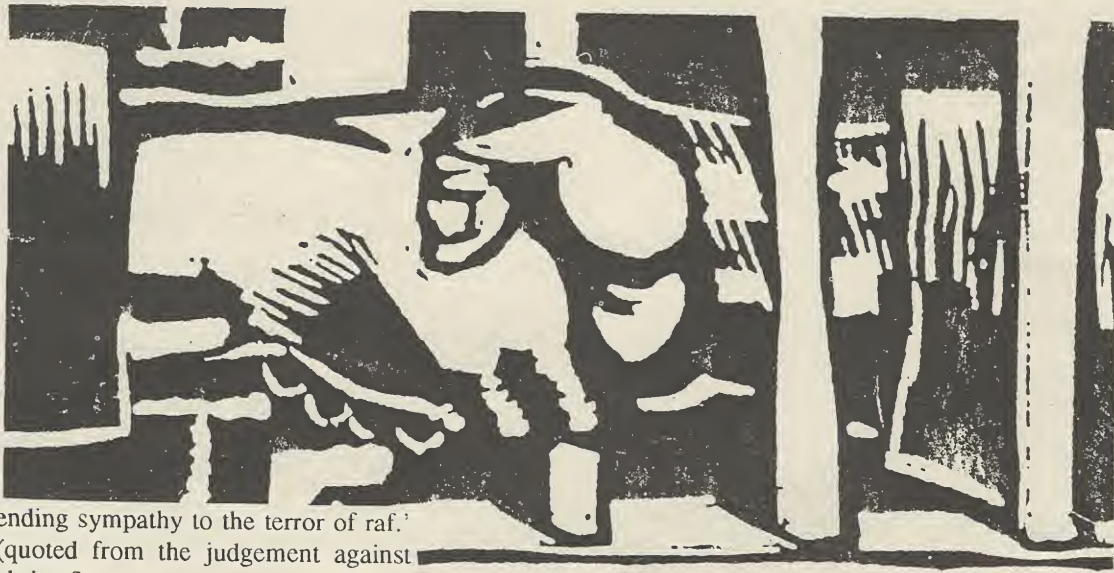
the group which was founded to build up solidarity with the trial thought, that it might be more sensible to counter the repression than to be paralysed by it. that meant to improve our struggles, which were criminalized partially. but there was the mistake to be on the subject of trial itself too late. so it was impossible to arrange the direct threat by repression which the individuals perceived in a different manner.

ute and holger didn't, christof went to the trial. he was sentenced to 18 months and got very sick while detained.

the trial itself: they were indicted for 'public realation for a terrorist unity' based on organising the manifestation and on their correspondences with raf-prisoners. the 18 months against christof were based upon his political identity mixed with the figment that this identity would be good for nothing else than supporting raf:







ending sympathy to the terror of raf.' (quoted from the judgement against christof).

on december 7, 89 ute and holger were arrested in the tiny north-german town husum. the press did not care about their going underground was reasoned in the manifestation resp. the trial. they linked their arrest to the execution of herrnhausen, both were declared to 'supposed raf terrorists'.

their conditions of detention:

a couple of examples explain the intention of the pigs: it's forbidden to send leaflets, booklets, copies or duplicates to them. i.e., it's impossible to inform them authentical what is going on outside the jail.

they get nothing but censored letters, from time to time a visit of their advocate, one hour visit a month, seperated by a window. no body-contact, no tenderness. both are in solitary confinement, i.e. 23 hours a day alone in their cell. the 24th hour they have to be alone too in the prison yard.

caused by this situation ute had a bad accident in her cell on march 3rd, her anniversary. she hurt her head badly and broke her second cervical vertebra. she said by herself that this was not done by the pigs directly, but she can't remember how it has happened exactly. the only thing she remembers is that she was doing sports in the cell.

at first she was brought to a city-hospital. there they noticed the break of vertebra and she was transfered to the university-hospital of lübeck.

one day later, female comrades wanted to visit her in hospital, but they weren't allowed to do so. the treating-doctor told them that ute had got a paraplyia.

the intensity-ward was crowded with cops, and only her mother succeeded to see her, after arguing a lot. she was attached to the bed in a special manner, not to move in a dangerous way. shortly later after her vertebra column was operated she was transfered to hamburg into a special hospital for paraplegia.

a fortnight after the accident her warrant of arrest was 'suspended'. but it have to be abolished!

during the situation of existing warrents the police's grip is a permanent

'suspension of sentence on probation could not be granted to the prosecuted. if the prosecuted propagate publicly the armed struggle after the closing speech of his advocate and his comrades give a signal to disturb severe the trial with a struggle-parole, he proves his never

threat worsening ute's natural process of recovery. it will be easier for ute to struggle for her recovery if we succeed to prevent the pigs from starting a new trial or arresting her again. therefore: the warrents of arrest have to be abolished.

ute's ability to move procedes slowly. she is able to move a little bit her fingers and toes and to lever head and shoulder. she has a daily program of physical training. she learns to draw, to type and to turn pages by mouth. several hours a day she sits in a wheel-chair. since the suspension of the warrents of arrest she's visited every day.

ute and holger want to see each other and have applied for it. up to now it is refused.

another point of attack of the pigs was the instigation against the centers of resistance, where people live and fight. so hamburgs hafenstraße was attacked: 'the trace of raf guides to hafenstraße' (hamburger morgenpost, dec. 12th 89)

their argument was the san-jose-demo in 1988 where ute participated and an identity card is said to be found with holger. people of hafenstrasse are said to have stolen this identity-card.

on may 15th, 90 3000 cops fall into hafenstrasse: the quarter around was cordoned off and the houses were totally set upside down. all this under the pretext of a warrent of arrest against cora and kalle. they are said to have stolen a motor-bike and documents for ute and holger, organized a weapon etc. both were searched as members of raf. eleven friends of them stay officially in hafenstrasse. the search warrent dealt with the flats of the supporters of supporters.

the warrents of arrest were the pig's pretext to come into hafenstrasse finally. they drew sketches of all houses. by this they created the possibility to attack the fighting people of hafenstrasse with further tigmets. their tigmets serves them as legitimation to proceed against legal projects and people of resistance.

after the first wave of inflamatory press succeeding the arrest of ute and holger they calmed up. but during the last weeks the political police reenforced their campaign of lies.

there are plenty reasons on this: denunciation, pilling is a preparation for further arrests. you see it after the search of hafenstrasse. more and more obviously the pigs use their lie of 'gesamt-raf'. it's publicly said to be proven.

but it is new that their figment reaches beyond antiimperialistic resistance. the resistance as a whole is aimed by their attack. they created the resistance as a political-ideologic wing of raf. thus, the bka pretends: 'the raf is supported by fighting units of the autonomous scene and have gained a political-ideologic wing, including 1500 - 2000 persons'. Hessel (bka-boss of investigation) says that that some of this people have written the declarations of the last years. 'the terrorists as Meyer belong to the practical type of men who prepare attemps and who carry them out, but who are not able to do the ideological work.'

thus they do not only spread the category of persons supposed to be raf on persons of the autonomous scene but create new accusations against the people they call 'legal members of raf'. saying that the legal environment writes the declarations means that we become accessories, nominal members and co-actors.

but the security police wants more. they say that the newest task of raf's legal wing is the preparation of attemps. Hessel: 'during nine months herrnhausems daily route was spied, but only the last three months the command-level of raf was part of the preparation'.

we have to take this attack seriously. this shows how they want to push through the 1987 decisions of trevi. there they decided to smash the resistance up to 1992.

if they succeed in spreading the figment of 'gesamt-raf', they will be able to condemn all people fighting for freedom as nominal members.

it's sure they don't want certain contradictions and contents in their europe of cops, bigbugs and military; they cannot effort disturbances against their accumulation of capital. in connection with the arrest of ute and holger three other persons have been criminalized. kalle and cora for membership, jürgen for supporting. they are going on to push

through and spread their 'gesamt-raf' figment. that attacks us all together!

we respond with solidarity with raf, the struggling prisoners, here and all over the world and all struggles for self-determination, independence and liberation.

we respond with our political identity as resistance and our collective responsibility for the life of all the people.

kind greetings to susanne albrecht, a woman arrested in berlin (GDR) a couple of days ago.

no extradition of susanne into FRG!!!



... anyone,  
anyhow, any-  
thing ... in  
hafenstraße

on tuesday 15th of may 1990 our houses were assaulted, occupied and ransacked at the instance of the federal frontier prosecutor of state. at about 3000 cops and members of the federal frontier defence took part in the aktion. they sheltered at about 150 officials of the federal criminal office (bka) and country office (lka, hamburg) who leaded the razzia and carried away "exhibits" in lorries. neither inhabitants nor neighbours, people from the press, partly advocats could go in or out. in the surroundings of 300 meters around the houses everything was cordoned off and for everybody lining or being notified in this area they had prepared a system with permit papers during the whole day. as a judicial base for the control system, the complete razzia ect. they made use of parts of the laws of emergency of 68 and 76/77. at the other side of the street they established a prisoner camp (22 arrested people, but they were set free again afterwards). the assault and the ransacking of the houses last more than ten hours. in one house everyone of us was thrown to the floor and fettered with plastic ties, in another house they entered with their pistols drawn. it lasted hours after the beginning of the campaign and after a couple of advocats had arrived until the federal prosecutor of state gave a declaration printed on high lust paper saying not more than pretendedly any people have anyhow participated anywhere intending to hide anything before this corrupt system of state. simultaneously to the razzia in our houses there were razzias in two private flats and in the infoshop "schwarzmarkt". later we get to know about another razzia in hannover also in other cities movements of people were shadowed and in some cases people were controlled. we think by carrying out this razzia - which was planned and cordinated federally month before - the federal prosecutor of state has taken the leadership in cpoing with "the problem hafenstraße". it is true, they go on trying to give notices to racate using the tenancy law and trying to evict us (next date of lawsuit. 2nd of july), but we cannot believe it really that the genarl prosecuter of state has come to hamburg just only in aim to fighten us. we don't agree with interpretations as for example in the "morgenpost" (newspaper in hamburg) on the next day: "nothing but petty expences"; this is a kind of twisting the facts of the case. we taken the razzia very serious considering it as a beginning of a new quality of attack us as a whole an against singular persons. the official argument for all that was two warrants of arrest against cora and kalle for pretended "membership in a terrorist group (raf)". the orders for ransacking were founded on "suspicion of contact" of

eleven of us to the both. cora and kalle lived here together with us. the cops know from former operations that they don't live here anymore latestly since the razzia of 3rd of april 1990 (at this time they came to execute 3 warrants of arest, one against kalle because of 100DM) and also from observations of the houses. cora and kalle went away from here. cora would have had to go to prison for 1 1/2 year. there is nothing to say about everything else by us, only cora and kalle themselves can do that. as a subsequent argument for the razzia rebmann(BAW declares one week later to have "detected" one flat in hafenstraße, that can be considered as a "commander centrale of the raf in the north of germany" in view of its "installation and equipment". concerning that we say: absolute nonsense. during the last 4 years this flat was ransacked two times, was inspected officially by the HEW (electricity works of hamburg) and the lawetz-donation, and already at that time there was a notitied broadcasting installation and an electricity workshop as well as entries to the cellar and the back-court. in spite of that they arrange all that, the computers, the photo-laboratory, the printer and the character of a common flat, as a "§ 129a crime" - that means support of or membership in the raf. this whole shit is based on the constraction of levels of the raf, being used by the federal prosecutor fo state for years: level of command - combatting units - legal branch of the raf. concerning us concretly their constructions are the following up to now: in dec. of 1989 - after the attack against herrhausen - in the north of germany ute hlacki and holger deilke are arrested an overstated as members of the command level of the raf, without any concret reproach of a deed. shortly after that they find a house in lasbek, where there lived pretendedly two people who were often visited by ute and holger. today the federal prosecutor of state presumes that the two persons were cora and kalle. shortly after several people are arrested in the surroundings of hamburg. one of the arrested states that one evening in the "volksküche" he was asked by a guy called kalle to give his name to notity the elektricity for the house in lasbek. and during these days the big catch-lines of the newspapers told: "trace of raf leads to hafenstraße!" when they arrested holger the cops found a passport, which is said to be from a broken car in front of the houses. the construction is simple: ute and holger members of the command level of the raf, cora and kalle also raf, anyhow, because they have lived here in hafenstraße and the raf must be here anyhow, even up to the command centrale. and it goes on: one of the arguments for the prohibition of the demonstration on saturday was solidarity with the raf. this opens a new quality of criminalisation.

not only the armed stuggel but also the effort to live alternatives openly is declared impossible and is fought with the whole domestic policy apparate of power. in the public ideas are rosen whether we are a permanent danger for the public security and order and whether one should use the "SOG" (law of security and order). that would mean: eviction and pulling down the houses and additionally to put some of us in prison for years. as they have always tried in history - with terror and propaganda - to make the armed struggle seem senseless, now they try to take us any perspektive, want to attack the occupied centres (danmark, netherlands) massively and on a european level press us with our dreams in isolation.

and we?  
in the first discussion after the razzia we realized how many work between each other it will need until we can resist this attack or even strike it back. but it is not only that. also it is difficult for us to say exactly what is this attack, what does it move in us.  
in the various discussions trying to write a pamphlet about the razzia, we always finished describing the attack and grasping it with a political analysis (general political climate, breaking down the socialist countries in the east, reunification, europe of 1992, 2/3 society, state of the left, attack on the left). though we see it rather clearly that it is not enough to describe the razzia and the constuctions of the federal prosecutor of state. we think to stike bach their attack is only possible coming more together with our everyday life, our different positions ect. and it is nessesary to take each other serious again, to require things of each other, to put contradictions on the table and to resist in the disputes. it is obvious: the police has not carried away cotton plugs and bags full of sweeties from our flats, but things for our every-day life and our political practise, one things is what they "think" of it, that means it is their constructions. but it is also clear that they work with things that exist here are part of our identity and things we have often disputed about. for example the question how we get the money for living, how we act politically, how we handle with drugs, what are the structures in between us. we have developped a manner of testing a lot of thngs that were possible for us because of our special situation without overthinking it responsible and with all of us concerning the consequences. the superficial strength of living together on one spot with 150 people against htis state surely also made us reckless and thereby attackable for the other side. this is one reason why it is so difficult for us to say something about hte attack; because this attack hits us, hits into our way to live, into what we are doing.

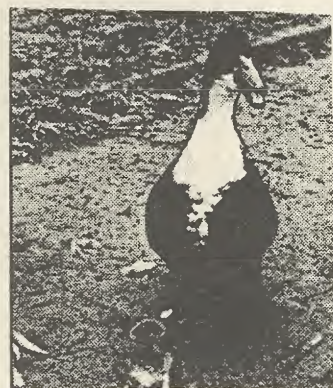
and not only that. it

is a god damned difference how they came 86/87 to evict the flats one by one but we had - of course limited - the possibility of going on being together and developping things together and how you run around now with a feeling they might come every day for arresting some of us and maybe put them in jail for years. evicting not "only" flats but people. and of course we are also afraid that we might not succeed in opposing something just in time to all that going on against us. for at the moment is not the situation like then, when a broad left publicity demanded toleration from the city council. the problem is not only that the federal prosecutor of state and the federal criminal office have taken the initiative like never before, but also a absolutely changed reality of the society. the pigs are just expelling from the heads of many people what was the essence of our life: the utopia of an other society, the dream of solving problems caused naturally by living together of humans in an other way than the capitalist-system prescribes. this description of our feelings has nothing to do with a victim-mentality. it is more the difficulty that their qualitatively harder attack requieres new and better answers from us. we can neither find these answers on our own nor at once or easily, and at the moment we have to cope with many things we have missed to clear up with each other before.

it is true, we have a common history here in hafenstraße and we get to know each other in a new way and better every time in different situations; we have the common experience of having had problems with the capitalist society in different ways, so that we didn't want to go on living as we did before, we wanted to try something new, wanted to escape the grip of cops, exploiters, disgusting structures of family and partnership; we simply want to change it and live in another way; and finally we want to resist against all that. but in the every-day live of the last years we have also experienced how easily groups and structures go their own way. th feeling of community was often overshadowed by interests of small groups or single persons. one had her/his own problems and too often one avoided to deal with conflicts outside the small groups - thereby nearly totally separated groups who live together developped even here in the hafenstraße. we nearly lost a common aim. and though the time is short now standing in front of these attacks we need the space for clearing discussions, critics and changes. only in a voluntary and wished community we will reach the strength we need now.  
we knew about all these problems before, we have not started only after the razzia to talk about it and to want a change. we had realized that it can't go on like this. but often we make only

moral appeals: "we should change this or that!" and exactly that's the fault. in extreme situations, like when we are forced to act together or when we just want to become active together, there's always a sort of paralysis, we are unable to talk together and finish up in unfruitful disputes. and then everthing goes on as before. everyone makes her/his own things. it becomes more and more clear how existencial it is for us to break with all that.

it is not the point to question everything we have done or do, to throw everything away. for everything contains also our hopes, our identity, our efforts to be active, to resist the other side. the question is "how". how is it pooble for us to exist as a community and a power against capitalism, exploiting and appression for example in a reunificated germany or in united europa? we must consider soberly ourselves and our situation. the point is a solidary discussion and action with all the people who feel they are meant and who want to go on with us.





## ABOLISH THE ALIENS ACT!!

### NO FRONTIERS FOR ALL!!

the new west-german aliens act is being pushed through in hurry. it's a special law against people of non-ec-countries.

the controlled influx of temporal limited labour to be extradicted as wanted was allowed as a desire of the economy. here staying migrant's oppositional political actions has been limited and threatened by extradition.

thus bears special disadvantages for women. for example, drawing welfare-aid is a reason for extradition.

the creators of that law granted themselves the wish to block the frontiers.

reason for extradition can be anything opposing 'the interests of FRG'. that includes the frequently committing of infringements. by the frequent 'can-be' and 'shall be'-regulations the foreigner authorities are gaining more possibilities to act. and the migrant rights are reduced just in time. great-german emotions are being stirred up. xenophobia and racism are being developed all over the germans. the fear of losing something determines the consciousness. in such a xenophobic climate the state can easily push through this law. it will be the base of new unleashed forms of social and state racism. we see the revision in connection with the european unification. while frontiers of the ec-domestic-market of capital, labour, service and goods are falling. each country will reinforce its frontiers against floods of migrants from 3rd world and eastern europe countries. the revision of such an important law shortly before the creation of an 'european legal-area' can only be understood as a preparation for a complete west-european control of non-ec-aliens influx.

#### BLOCKADE AGAINST NON-EC-MIGRANTS

the entry-regulations against non-ec-migrants will be tightened tremendously. states intention is to prevent people's entry into frg, to seek asylum here.

this is the task of forced visa for all 3rd world and eastern europe countries; only western european countries, usa, canada and csfr etc. are excluded. the airlines are obliged not to transport people without visa into frg.

the frg-embassies are continuing to make it more difficult to get a visa.

you don't get entry-visa without an invitation of friends or relatives staying in frg, who have an 'appropriate' income. but even with a visa the entry into frg will be more difficult. the bgs (federal frontier guard) can refuse an entry, if 'the residence endangers or disturbs frg's interests in any reason'. what such a reason is, the guard decides arbitrary.

the entry will be refused too if the guards think that the residence in frg is for another reason than said. this frontier authorities practice, up to now no legal tender, is legalized. refugees, applying for asylum at the frontier, can be rejected saying their demand is groundless and they only want to come to frg to stay here.

the bgs' permit for police-record-mal-treatment is new as well. thus the state improves its own possibilities to register and control people of foreign countries.

#### FORCE TO WORK, SLAVERY WORK

in spite of high unemployment and repeating regulation to expand the force to work, the employers complain about the lack of willing (wo)menpower mainly for gastronomy, agriculture and services. this law is to change it.

reason for extradition like drawing welfare aid or enduring unemployment will force to do bad and badly paid work, even if less money than unemployment benefit is earned.

rotatory labour is new as well. though, frg capitalist can hire non-ec-migrant workers not for more than two years. afterwards they've to go home or the boss applies for a prolongation.

only in interest of utilisation of labour is a new regulation of seasonal work. the frg-gouvernement determines that for special economical branches (e.g. harvesting work) workers of non-ec-countries are allowed to be fetched. the duration and area of residence can be limited. if they finish their work, they will be deported.



to 'not limit real private charity', but 'without pushing public costs' somebody (for example churches) can stand a 8-year-surety for somebody if they oblige to pay all living-costs including the departure.

in the worse case the refugee will meet an employer who will treat him as slave and exploit him terribly.

by this regulation - a part of alien workers are forced to sell their labour cheaply and besides social benefits are economized - the pressure on all other workers will increase to subject themselves to worsening labour conditions.

#### THE SPECIAL LAWS AGAINST ALIENS ARE SEXIST

the complete structure of the alien and asylum laws is determined by the sexism of their creators. they are customized for male, who comes as a worker or as a person applying for asylum into frg.

she-migrants appear mainly as wives and relatives - as male's appendix.

the vast majority of the two million female aliens came here to their husband by reuniting of families. their right to stay depends on the husband. only after a four-year-existing marriage in the frg she could apply for a proper residence permit.

this dependence forces women to subject themselves to their husbands. and those can use the situation to put pressure on their wives.

but wives only get a proper resident permit if they have an 'economical guaranteed existence'.

if nobody gives her money, she'll have to have work and a labour permit. because of the regulation privileging german and ec people women get only those work which nobody else wants to do.

for many women the alternative to an unbearable marriage is to be exploited as a chairwomen or on an assembly line.

with the special laws the state wants to control the non-german population totally.

in the 70's firm structures of greek, turkish or kurdish societies arose by the massive following movement of children and women ('reunification of families'). one reason to allow this surely was to temper the dissatisfaction of men caused in their living conditions, what lead e.g. to a big readiness to strike.

but the development of community structures by the following family-members made it more difficult for the state to throw out migrants as it likes. this structures are one base to resist fascist attacks.

women have created this community structures and are keeping them together.

if the state tries to prevent the continuing settlement of non-german people it has to interrupt the influx of women and children. therefore they worsen the conditions of reunification of families.

according to the act family members will be allowed to come to frg only if 'sufficient housing room' can be proved, that means that a flat is only accepted according the so called 'social standard'. (e.g. 85 m<sup>2</sup> for two grown ups and three children). in addition they have to prove that the following relatives as well as any other relatives is not depending on public benefits. 'second generation'-aliens (as migrants are called who weren't grown up when entering frg) only are allowed to reunite with their spouse after a at least 8-year-residence. but in any case they've to stay one year separated (in contrast to according german right where one year of separation is proof for a fictious or wrecked marriage).



## ITALY

since februar 1990 in italy a new immigration act is legal: it promises an amnestie to that illegal immigrants who can proof to be immigrated until december 1989 and if they have already notified the authorities until march. it further promises all demands of pension and sick-fund and even the assignement of flats.

for many that seems to be a good way to protect the nearly 950.000 illegals against the extrem exploitation of their working power in quarries, on the fields and in the fishing-boats. but they didn't see that only few will notify cause if they do they have to pay taxes; with payments of less than 15 DM the day impossible. (taz feb. 23, 90)

but the pretended privilege was the reason for armed fascist militias to uprise. unter the figment that the immigrants are 'contaminated' with aids or said to be drug-dealers they made men-huntings. at the beginning of march in florenz ambulant african traders have been attacked with sticks and knives und were badly hurted. the motto was: 'no rooms for negroes before not every italian has a roof over his head!' (FR march 6, 90).

while the italian public was highly indignant about this 'lynch'-actions the city government of florenz founds itself compelled to 'show the citizens that we have the phenomenon of immigration under control' (city-major Morales, TAZ march 19, 90)

after the end of the date for notification the cops comb trough quarter by quarter systematically, searching illegal immigrants. hundrets of arrests for deportation appeared in outlines after a few hours of cop-activity. now the stick-and knifegroups felt encouraged more than ever to attack colored people.

asked why they don't arrest the racist gangs a police-major answered: 'we aren't able to cause all forces are in operation against colored' (TAZ march 19, 90)

at the same time the frontiers are closed.

in the meantime in italy was decided to 'protect' the frontiers against immigrants with marine and army, while pretended black 'drug-dealers' are murdered by 'death-schwadrons'.

it's interesting that this law was legalized in agreement with the christ- and social democrats, socialists and liberals, even with the greens and communists. and the authorities of other ec-countries call up in italy 'and the only thing they ask how effective our new law is', (TAZ march 3, 90)

## CRIMINALISATION OF RESISTANCE

migrants political actions - specially of radicals - will be limited more.

political action against reactionary regimes in the home countries as well as protest and resistance against the situation here can be criminalized if not according 'frg's interests'. this law makes it possible to deport people who is said to act against the extrem unclear and wide composed laws and prohibitions. the act 'protects the extremly sensitiv sphere of frg's external relation. this sphere has to be protected against disturbing aliens'. (quoted from the comment of the law). this acts as a

prohibition to demonstrate against conditions in the home countries, e.g. during a visit-of-state of an foreign politician.

further the act fullfills the demand of general prosecutor rebman not ot trial foreign 'terrorists' in frg but to deport them immedeatly. that is what they've learned by the trial against 18 kurds of PKK (workers and peasant party of kurdistan), in which they didn't succeed in condemning national liberation struggles here.

but there are not only exiled parties and organisations who shall be criminalized.

according to the act the here living aliens are bearing the responsibility for the 'peaceful living-together of germans and aliens', though they are attacked racistly. that means that migrants who counter fascist attacks can be deported. we can't imagine a wide resistance against this system without aliens and think that the racist handicaps can only be broken through if the aliens go on the streets themselves and don't rely on their intercessors anymore. the act aims against this development.

further, aliens don't agree too with their miserable situation. they have to steal, fence, deal with drugs and, if women, to prostitute. and, a long standing or several arrests and to deal with prohibited drugs even in minor quantities (even gras or hashish) are reasons for deportation. this deportations have affect on proper asylants too, who can even been deported in their 'home'-countries if there her or 'his life ... is in danger'.

## GERMAN CONTINUITY

historicly seen the actual aggravation of special laws is the pursuit of the fascist police act of 1938.

as a concrete act in the course of war preparations the complet lack of rights for aliens have to been regulated to not get into troubles with recrutation and deportation for slavery work and with conserving the inner savety. the few rights which non-german people had until this time were abolished. henceforth they were on the mercy of the state arbitrariness.

in first many new extradition reasons were introduced, none of them are released until today - some had been changed but lingual.

german continuity means that this fascist act, which had ensured the complete lack of rights for aliens, was compatible with the frg bill of rights which is said to be liberal. it was changed with the actual aliens act not until 1965.

the reason to revise it 1965 was that it couldn't be exhausted in a 'legal state'. thus from time to time new reasons of extradition had been added (e.g. prostitution, danger for wealth and morality ...). further the law should been freed from the musty smell of nazi, causing some inner scruples by singular referes to handle it straight.

## CONCLUSION

the reasons of the streams of migrants from the so-called 3rd world and south-and easteuropa are founded in the countries of the metropolies. the ongoing, centuries old colonial exploitation, imperialistic wars, capitalistic forming and patriarchal structures have destroyed nearly all forms for living of the peoples.

IWF, world bank, NATO and other agencies determine the conditions of living, the degree of exploitation and starving in nearly all countries.

against this the resistance of women, children and men, who are not satisfied with their acting as victims but resist against beeing used until dead or beeing exterminated.

the one try to reorganize their live under conditions of war, the other take the stone, molli or weapon, others are going on to apply for their demands of income on other places then allocated.

they demand a better live in this places where the robbed richdom had been flown and doing so they set them in a known or unconscious contradiction to the rulers.

against this demands the ilands of prosperity are protected with walls higher and higher, e.g with the aliens act.

closed frontiers, the absolute control about how many and what kind of people come in the frg are an absolut condition for the ruling 'safety and order', for rasist and sexist exploitation.

free frontiers, the free floating of people of the poor regions of the world, who demand their right to exist and to live in a human way: that is a unbearable horrorvision for the rulers, the vision of breaking ups of rage and plundering poor people. like the clashes and actions of reowning in the black suburbs of england which the medias here keep secret.

we understand the slogan 'no frontiers for all' as a political direction which aims to move the ruling power structures.

it means today to fight any selection and splitting in legitimated and not legitimated asylants. too, not to defend our living standard against migrants or asylants because it is founded on racism but to set in the possibilities we have reasoned in our conditions of living against the ruling politic of pilling.

an example where the racist pilling shall take place specially is the lack of flats. thus it isn't the fault of migrants and asylants that in the 80's to few flats have been built intentionally, cheap have been rebuild away and today thousands are unhoused. the lack of flats was produced intentionally by the housing economy and the federal government to rise up the rents and on the other hand it is an important instrument to play off poor people against each other.

the new aliens act is a further instrument for the state to consolidate hierarchical splittings; men against women, german against aliens, and aliens who shall be integrated against this who have to go away or don't come in.

let's cross their politic of control and deportation and the operating of their special laws!

let's hit one of the central mechanism of rulership by tearing down our own racist frontiers, by fighting racism by state and society and sexist oppression of she-migrants!

**THE FRONTIERS ARE NOT BETWEEN THE PEOPLES BUT BETWEEN TOP AND BOTTOM!**

**NO ALIENS ACT!**

**FREE FRONTIERS FOR ALL!**



Starting-point for the discussion about the world-wide liberation-fights is for us the development and/or further development of our own revolutionary theory and praxis for our own fights in the countries of west-europe, concrete here in FRG, for the development of an international class-consciousness and the erection of a praxis with a new and more and more exact determination of international solidarity.

Presupposition for this is to our mind the knowledge about the specific conditions of the liberation-fights, how they develop out of this conditions and determine their aims and praxis. We know, that the conditions of the liberation-fights in the trikont and their grade of organisation that they have still reached differs oneself fundamentally from our reality, and that because of this likewise nothing can be transferred simply or perhaps be compared. The conditions differs also between the several countries in the trikont extremely. Each movement originate from the special contradictions in the respective countries, it develops out of the history of resistance or even has to work out totally new revolutionary ideas. It is not enough to comment the perspectives of liberation-movements in other countries, if they are not compatible in any way with our own reality and are in this also practicable for this reality. The important experiences of many liberation-movements was in this also "Always to trust in the own power". But the experience shows also, that the movements in the several countries are not only confronted with the national bourgeoisie, but today must already assert themselves against the whole imperialistic system.

The own forces are simply not strong enough to put up something, that may prevent the total annihilation. Out of this situation, the liberation-movements are frequently forced to enter into compromises, but this means, that the revolutionary praxis, the self-organisation of the people at this point cannot be developed further.

We want to learn out of others experiences, not to make equal and transfer nothing. We want to develop a solidarity-idea/conception, starting from the own revolutionary perspective and self-determined praxis, which makes it possible to support and complet one another in the fight against the "same enemy".

Presupposition for this is for us the sincere and solidary discussion with the respective specifically conditions and conceptions of the single liberation-movements and the possibility of getting authentic informations.

The following article about the liberation-fight of the kurdish people was compiled out of the authentic sources, that means out of the publications of the kurdish liberation-movement.

The article should inform about the uprising in north-west Kurdistan and its background. In this, it is important for us to show the unit between the uprising, organized and beared from the peoples-committees, and the armed organized forces of the liberation-front.



But likewise we also want to describe, how a people fight itself out of the total resignation and humiliation, develops human dignity and new self-consciousness and enables itself in spite of strong repression, to make a organized liberation-fight.

**"Resistance means life"**  
Origin and history of the liberation movement in north-west Kurdistan

For a better understanding of the peculiarities and the actual development of the peoples-uprise "Serhildan" (which means to lift up the head) it is important to consider the conditions and the history of the people in Kurdistan. This history is impressed very much by the exploitation (similar to slavery) from the structures of feudal dominion, by massacres, deportations and the bloody oppression of the national identity of a whole people. But as everywhere in history also this people has a tradition of resistance hundreds of years old. The people have resisted against their extermination with numerous spontaneous uprisings. This ancient spirit of resistance formed the basis for the beginning and the further development of the liberation-movement in Kurdistan.

#### History of oppression

The turkish state - originated from the ruins of the Osmanic Empire, which fell apart in 1918 - founded his colonial politics on the nationalism (Kemalism) developed by Mustafa Kemal (Attatürk). Therefor there was only one language and people that lived in Turkey.

So the turkish politics towards other peoples like the Armenian and kurdish people was characterised by bloody oppression and "Turkisation" (assimilation). That meant that using the own language, maintaining the culture and the relation to the national history was forbidden.

With the agreement of Lausanne in 1923 the division of Kurdistan into 4 parts was decided and it was attached to 4 countries (Turkey, Iran, Irak and Syria). The colonial empires France and England played a leading roll for this decision. Until 1938 there were at about 20 uprisings against the following assimilation, they were all stricken back bloodily. The will to resist was strong, but the struggles were split up and had no common anti-colonial direction in their politics. Mostly the fights were used by traditional sovereigns and reactionary owners of large landed property for their own interests of keeping their power. During that time the kurdish people was deprived of its national identity. The turkish Prime-minister of that period said about this subject: "We have buried Kurdistan and covered it with 7 layers of concrete. The kurdish people will not arise again."

In 1940 Turkey started with the militarization and the economical exploitation of the kurdish region. Also furtheron the unsparing destruction of the national identity of the kurdish people was an elementary part of the colonial policy. In this strategy the turkish government built-up schools all over north-west Kurdistan and sent teachers loyal to the state for to teach the kurdish children the turkish language and history forcibly.

In the end of the 50th the

meaning of north-west Kurdistan changed. In a NATO-decree they decided to build-up Turkey, which meant also Kurdistan, as a zone for military and economic use. Thereby Turkey and north-west Kurdistan got a special function as a NATO-base for concentration against the Sovjet Union. The region was used by the western capital for bringing them resources, cheap workers, as a sale-market and also for their investments. Already since 1950 at about 2/3 of the turkish petrol-industry was in the hands of the petrol-multies Shell (50%) and Mobil Panoil (13%).

#### Beginning of a new movement

In the beginning of the 70th in Ankara and Istanbul a small group of kurdish students started to collect their national identity as kurdish people again and to study their own history. They had the idea of liberating Kurdistan from the colonial dominion and of building up a self-determined state. In 1975 the members of this group decided to go back to their native place Kurdistan to build up a antional liberation-movement there. Making illegal propaganda actions (meetings, pamphlets, manifestations etc.) they succeeded already after a short time getting much symphathy and a broader basis in the kurdish population. Mainly the youth, intellectuals but also poor people like farmers supported this movement. Developing like this it became the greatest danger for the interests of dominion of the turkish state in Kurdistan.

So the turkish government tried to destroy this movement with massive means of police, military and counter-insurgency. On the 18th of may 1977 one of the foundation members of



the original group, Haki Karer, was murdered by the secret-service in Antep. After this first phase of the national liberation-fight (enlightenment and shaping of conscience) on the 27th of november 1978 the PKK (workers and farmers party of Kurdistan) was founded. PKK's aim is building up an independent, democratic and united Kurdistan. As they say in their programm: "The revolution has two aspects: a national one and a democratic one. The national aspect levels at the colonial dominion in the political, military, economic and cultural field ...the second aspect of the revolution is the democratic. The aim of the democratic revolution is to abolish the conflicts surviving since the middle-ages as there are the feudal and compradory exploitation, the clan-system, religious sectarianism and the exploitation of women like slaves..".

The PKK receives a broad support from the different classes of the kurdish people already after a short time. The political activities of PKK are numerous: organizing strikes in factories and universities, founding self-organized associations of traders and supporting practically the farmers' demands for a land reform. One reason for the strong support with PKK was surely that the members went to see the people directly in their villages. They made public meetings there and also talked with the people about their problems in every-day life. Their political aims and praxis gave the people an idea how the colonialism could be fought and destroyed. The kurdish people discovered the power of rebellion and of being united, remembered its dignity and national

identity and began to "lift the head" again. The tradition of resistance awoke anew in the kurdish people. The PKK gave many hard blows to the network of intelligence agents and informers, established by the turkish government also against fascist organizations, the owners of large-landed property and the turkish institutions of administration in Kurdistan. With massacres on the civil-population and with numerous detentions the turkish state intended to stop the development and expanding of the kurdish liberation-movement. One of the most terrible massacres was in Maras in december of 1978. 1000 men, women and children were slaughtered by the turkish military. In the same month they inflicted the martial-law upon all provinces of Kurdistan, it lasted officially until 1987 but is existent until today. But even taking these steps they couldn't stop the development of the liberation-movement.

#### The triumphant advance of fascism

In 1980 the social and political conflicts rose to the peak. Growing pauperization, unemployment, super-elevated prices, all this created a strong displeasure about the government in the whole population of Turkey. Radicalizing themselves the people made mass-demonstrations against the machination of the turkish government. There were very big strikes with more than 240000 workers participating and also militant attacks against institutions of the state and capitalist exploiting enterprises. The situation became more and more uncontrollable for the turkish bourgeoisie and the international capitalists.

So on the 12th of october 1980 the military apparat putsched, leaded by some fascist generals, for example the former president of the state, Kenan Evren, and sanctioned by the NATO-states. Just at that time the NATO-maneuvre "anvil-express" was carried out in Turkey. One day after the putsch one could read in an article of "Daily Telegraph" how relieved the imperialist states reacted on the putsch: "Finally Turkey-a reliable NATO-ally with very esteemed value-is now a partner for conversation, a partner with whom the west can talk about political and military business with a certain hope now."

The consequence of the putsch was fascist terror of the state. 100 thousands of people in Turkey and in north-west Kurdistan were arrested and tortured, thousands were murdered or displaced into prisons. However more than 7000 members of the PKK or people who supported them were arrested and a big part of them is still imprisoned. In Kurdistan the military encircled whole villages and slaughtered the people without making differences. Neither in Turkey nor in Kurdistan there was an organized military power of the people, that could have restricted the fascist terror. So the humans were delivered without shelter to the extermination. Everywhere there was a great fear and a sort of running cold. Many left-wing people fled into foreign countries, the left-wing organizations dissolved and PKK declared their retreat into Libanon, for they were not able to defend too. This was a hard defeat for the social resistance movement in Kurdistan. All the structures worked out until then were destroyed now. The power of resistance,

trusting the own strength and the power of the left-wing organizations was broken.

PKK had to learn of its defeat, because they didn't want to give up the liberation-fight in Kurdistan. According to the new conditions one had to find and to build up new political and military suppositions for continuing with the liberation-fight. In a former palestinian guerilla-camp (today: Mazlum Korkmaz academy) an intensive analysis of the last fighting-years was made.

In Libanon the movement prepared itself intensive for the return to Kurdistan. Out of the experience of the unprecedented fascist terror after the putsch also guerilla-fight was trained. The fighters of PKK also took part in the fights of the palestinian people in Libanon.

#### The fire of resistance burns again!

In this time of total resignation and repression the unbroke spirit of resistance of the innumerable political prisoners had also for the people outside a very special meaning. With many hunger-strikes and other actions against the daily bloody torture and the inhuman life-conditions in the prisons they kept the hope in liberation awake and opened a way out of the stagnation and resignation.

At the traditional new-years festivities (Newroz), which is in the same time a festivity of the kurdish resistance, enlightened Mazlum Dogan (member of PKK) in march 1982 and Ferhat Kurtay and Esref Anyak (both member of PKK) in april 1982 in their cells symbolically the Newroz-fire Mazlum Dogan was yet in the same night tortured to death and the two others burned to death in their cells.

At the 14.7.82 the PKK-prisoners Hayri Durmus, Kemal Pir, Akif Yilmaz, Ali Cicek and others started a fast to death, during which many prisoners were killed. The fights of the prisoners set in this way a sign for the continuity of resistance and raised the interest of the worlds-publicity on the situation in Turkey. At the same time the PKK decided at its second congress that in 1983 small armed propaganda-units should went back to Kurdistan. In this the organized liberation-fight was taken up again. In Kurdistan

the fighters made political and smaller military actions against the fascist turkish junta, to break the passivity, pessimism and the fear in the population in this way and to create new confidence to themself and to each other again. Then at the 15.8.84 in Kurdistan the first guerilla-actions took place. Those fighting-units (HRK) occupied at this day two small cities (Eruh and Semdinli) for a few hours and made political meetings with the population. The HRK declared:

"...out of this point of view she will use revolutionary force against the fascist-colonialistic terror, so to bring development to and organize the revolutionary power of our people in this reach to...the HRK is the armed revolutionary army of our people..."

The resumption of the armed fight in Kurdistan was severely criticized by the turkish left-wings who said that it is too early for this and that it would only enforce the fascist terror. Besides they further continued in the point-of-view, that at first the class-structure in Turkey has to be changed and than it could be spoken about a right of self-determination of the kurdish people. Especially this opinion has prevented yet before the putsch a coming-together of the turkish left-wings and the kurdish liberation-movement. With the resumption of the fight in Kurdistan and the successful expanding of the guerilla-fight also grewed the wish on self-determination and the power of resistance among the people again. Many especially young Kurds joined the guerilla.

This development showed the necessity of creating a organization, which established in itself the unity of the different classes like they exist in the feudalistic struc-

ture of the society of Kurdistan.

Still a half year after the first armed actions, on the 21.03.85, the national liberation-front of Kurdistan (ERNK) was founded. In their program is written:

"The ERNK aim at the creation of a national independent and democratic society under a democratic administration of the people. It follows up socially independent and democratic aims on a basis of the national liberation. The ERNK strives for the creation of a system, in which the political unity of the whole people of Kurdistan without difference in language, religion, region, nationality and gender will be established and in which the people reach the right on democratic liberty and free development...the ERNK believes in the necessity of establishing the widest political unity and of further development of the political and military power of the people, to make the liberation possible. In this framework she undertakes the function of an organ, while she educates and organizes the people and make it possible to act." The ERNK's activities brought her a deep trust among the people and hundredthousands of Kurds joined this organization.





On her 3. party-congres in october 86 the PKK opened the phase of front- and army-foundation. The ARGK (peoples liberation army) was founded and the HRK-units integrated in it. Still after a short time the peoples liberation army joined up thousands of new fighters. It was able to inflict plenty military defeats and high casualties on the turkish army, which was after the first armed actions transfered by 2/3 to Kurdistan.

After this grew the necessity of a political organisation, because more and more people joined the liberation-movement. Thus, different political

unions for the different classes, concerning to the specific interests and conditions were founded. 1987 the Union of the patriotic women of Kurdistan, the Union of the patriotic workers and the Union of the revolutionary Youth were founded.

#### "Special-war" in Kurdistan

On the resumption of the armed fight the turkish state reacted still in april 1985 with the construction of the 'village-guard-system'. Those militia-gangs presented a military reserve-force of the state in the fight against the guerilla. They were armed with modern weapons and got a special reward each month. As village-guards only those Kurds were recruited, who are loyal to the fashistic state like for example the circles around the feudalistic clan-leaders. Lots of the village-guards acted in their own interests, for example in kidnapping of young women or in acts of revenge against their personally enemies. Together with the turkish army they attacked kurdish villages and terrorize the population. They kill people and say afterwards that this people have been guerillas. From their construction till 1988 they have killed about 150 revolutionists altogether. Those militia-gangs were builded-up on the one hand to stir up Kurds against Kurds and on the other hand because the turkish army had difficulties to find its way in the high-mountains of Kurdistan, which are difficult to control. The high casualties amamong the turkish soldiers should be reduced in this.

For the development of the liberation-fight these militias meant a big serious problem. So the guerilla had to take the initiative and solve the problem.

It is well known, that the most of the village-guards were pushed to take the weapons by force. That means, that this part had to be convinced of their mistake and had to be gained for the liberation-fight or at least be neutralized. For that at first all village-guards were tried to convince seriously and intensively. Only if all those activities have no result, those who have not changed their hostile position were warned. They were warned three times and only if all this brings no result, the guerilla used weapons. The responsibility for it that also children and women have been killed in this, has the turkish state alone who had charged the houses of the village-guards into a complet weapon-depot and that the village-guards hidetd themselves during a attack of the guerilla behind their women and children.

Thereupon in west-europe a instigation-campaing was started over the medias in which also german left-wing organisations with their publications (GAL=green-alternative-list Hamburg, TAZ= daily newspaper, KB/Arbeiterkampf=communist union/Workersfight) took part. Reports were published, in which was said that the ERNK is no liberation-movement because they "kill women and children". These are the same groups who also make those imputations against the palestinian liberation-fight and

isolate it by the reproach of anti-semitism. Through their refusal of armed liberation fight those groups deny, that the people in Kurdistan and Palestine are carrying a national liberation-fight.

But it is a fact, that the strikes of the guerilla against the militia-gangs caused, that more and more village-guards gave back their weapons and that in the areas, where the village-guards had big defeats, the liberation-fight could develop much stronger then before. So the turkish state had to realise still after a short time that the 'village-guard-system' is no alternative against the 'seperatists'.

In a time, in which the liberation-fight expands permanently and finds also on international level a growing acceptance, the methods for liquidating the PKK and the liberation-movement were intensivied in Turkey and in the european foreign countries. In the west-european countries it was started to think about an alternative for Kurdistan and this was 'autonomy'. That means the right on language and culture. But politicaly and economically the turkish state should decide further. For that project a party or other organisation was necessary, which could take over the regional governmental power in co-operation with Turkey. Thus, dissidents of PKK in europe very quickly agree to create a 'democratic PKK' as a alternative. But this was realized as traitorous and isolated by the Kurds that live in west-europe. In Kurdistan on the other hand the methods of 'special-war' against the kurdish people were intensified. Beside the militia-gangs also special-units, the so called 'black beetle' were builded-uo. Those units were trained by the west-german GSG 9 (anti-terrorism-unit) and equiped with modern weapons.

The turkish army started to attack the guerilla in the mountains with poison-gas. Villages, where it was suspected that the population supports the guerilla were attacked and the people tortured. Hundrets of villages with thousands of inhabitants were resettled by force thereupon, to destroy the social basis of the guerilla. Hundrets of Kurds were killed or arrested. The imperialistic countries intensified their military, political and economical support for the fashistic state in spite of evident human-right- and international-law-violations in Turkey and Kurdistan. They try to transfer the special-war against the liberation-fight on the international-level in close co-operation by the secret-services.

In a unprecedent instigation-campaign in the west-german medias, but also in other west-european countries, it was contented that the PKK has killed the prime-minister of Sweden, Olof Palme, and beyond that, the PKK was said to have made special 'mortal-lists' about dissidents and critics of the PKK, especially in FRG. Besides, the PKK was said to plan 'terror-actions' against turkish institutions and representatives. The PKK was also made responsible for the unclear murder of a turkish exile in Hamburg. In this instigation-campaign again the still named left-wing west-german organisations took part and also a part of the turkish left-wings, who had escaped to west-europe, especially to FRG after the putsch. These turkish groups to the biggest part do not work in Turkey any more, but have dissolved themself there. In FRG they have reconstructed themself then and support

out of FRG the peacefull 'proces of democratisation' in Turkey.

In that time also the attacks on kurdish revolutionists took place in europe. In 1985 the kurdish revolutionist and member of the liberation-movement Mustafa Actas (Celal) was killed in Paris and on the day after a further Kurd called Necdet was killed in Stockholm. In 1987 Ahmed Aydin, also active member of the liberation-movement was shoot. In spite of the intensification of the special-war, the resistance of the kurdish people in the mountains, cities, in the country, in the prisons of Kurdistan and also in the west-european foreign countries goes on continually. The guerilla-units enforce their attacks on military and economic aims in Turkey. In military it was brought heavy casualties to the turkish state. In october 1986 at the first time a attack on a NATO-radar-base in Mardin took place too.





"RESISTANCE  
MEANS TO ATTACK"  
THE PEOPLES-UPRISE IN KURD-  
ISTAN AND HOW IT CAME TO THAT

military-operation of the turkish state until then. It lasted two month and in this time about 3000 kurdish women, men and children out of nearly all sections of the kurdish population and to prevent the further organisation of the liberation fight in the villages and cities of Kurdistan.

In 1988, Turkey and the west-european states reacted on the development of the kurdish liberation fight with an offensive that took place on three levels:

### 1. The trial to condemn the structures of self-organisation of the kurdish people in west-europe

In february of 1988 20 kurdish politicians were arrested in FRG on the pretext of constituting a "terroristic union" according to the § 129a. To that you find on the next pages a detailed article and an interview with one of the kurdish defendent.

### 2. The 1. August-Decree

With the 1. august-decree of 1988 the turkish military-prisons were transferred to the civil-jurisdiction and administration, that meant, that the jurisdiction over the prisoners conditions of their detention layed no longer in the hands of military but at the ministry of justice. This decision was a reaction on the struggle of the political prisoners against the inhuman condition in the turkish prisons, which they had carried yet for many years with many hunger-strikes under the slogan "mans dignity will defeat the torture". through this struggle the picture of the "democratization" of Turkey was seriously made dubious in the eyes of the international publicity. Many people in Turkey and north-west Kurdistan declared themselves in solidarity with the struggle of the political prisoners by organizing demonstrations, solidarity-hunger-strikes and other actions to support them. The installation of the 1. august-decree should simulate a libarization of the detention condition for the international publicity and should stop the political activities of the existing solidarity-movements. The decree was also attack on the improvements that were reached in the prisons to the civil jurisdiction, these improvements shall be annuled without saying a word. Nevertheless, the enforcement of the decree could be prevented by several hunger-strikes for month in which each time some thousands political prisoners took part. During the last hunger-strike from june to september 1989 2 prisoners were beaten to death. Many prisoners are very sick because of the torture and the many hunger-strikes and are unfit for being arrested any longer. Nevertheless they have to stay further in prison, too.

### 3. Expandig of the fashistic-states-terror on the whole kurdish population

At the end of 1988 the turkish army reinforced the attacks not only against the guerilla but also against the whole kurdish population too. The kurdish population terrorized whole villages. In december 1988 this terror reached its temporary climax in the biggest

### PEOPLES-MILITIAS: THE PEOPLES SELF-ORGANISATIONS AGAINST THE FASHISTIC TERROR

In 1987 the creation of people-militias was started by the liberation movement. Their members lived legal and worked in the cities and villages. There they collect informations and gave them to the guerilla and made independent illegal actions too. These people-militias were the basis of the self-organisation of the people for self-defending against the fashistic army and for the future administration of the freed areas. At this time the ARGK has started with occupying bigger cities, destructing the political and military institutions of the state that existed there and made political meetings with the population. These actions strengthened the people-militias beeing in a state of building up and gave more courage and self-confidence to the people. This self-confidence expressed itself in 1989 in spradic uprisings of the population

against the terror of the army and their special-units. In the city Silopi. 2000 people took actions against the security-forces and government-buildings with stones and sticks after the murdering of 9 farmers by the army. In Yesilkurt the population organized a sitting-blockade in front of the military-base after at 15.1.89 special-units fired on the city a night long and have tortured the population the day after. At the 24.5.89 about 500 people demonstrated against the army, after soldiers had threatened 2 kurdish girls and knocked down some young persons who wanted to help them.

These examples show that after years of passivity the population was no longer ready to suffer the fashistic terror and started yet with offering active resistance. The reaction of the turkish state on this development was, that he builded up "territorial defending units" (counter-revolutionary militias) and acted with massive repression against the people. This happened in a time, in which

the social, political and economic contradiction also within the turkish state more and more came to a point. The military concept against the Guerilla has failed and the picture of a democratic Turkey in the international publicity was mostly destroyed. Fashistic attacks on left-wing organisations were the order of the day again. In military circles was talked more frequently about a new military-putsch.

Parts of the turkish left-wings realized in this time the contradiktion between the objektive situation in their own country, namely that the people were pretty ready for acting, and their own failing organisation. The turkish population started to be interested in the kurdish liberation fight and read the left-wing newspapers, which reported about it in spite of the prohibition. The people became more critical of the turkish propaganda and a social movement developed in the big cities again. Many young turkish people began to object the military-service in the army because they did not want to go in the war against the kurdish people. In Turkey military-service objectors will be sentenced to many years in prison.

### "THE REVOLUTION WILL UNITE THE KURDISH AND THE TURKISH PEOPLE!"

The preceeding developement of the kurdish liberation fight made it impossible for the turkish left wings to ignore it any longer like they have done the year before. In this it came in january 1989 to union between left wing turkish organisations and the PKK on the level of a unit front against the fashistic turkish state. In a common declaration of PKK, SVP, Csocialist-native party, THKP-C(acil) (peoples liberation party

of Turkey(acil)), TKP-B(communist party of Turkey/unit) and sosyalist(socialist) the foundation of a revolutionary Unit-Front was published. In it is written: "We, revolutionists from Kurdistan and Turkey have done the first step for Unity and Solidarity Platform. Corresponding to the proceeding fight, it is the aim at the capture of political power and rejects for that no fighting-method, but regards it as a task to develop these. (...) Besides the platform includes the right of self-determination of the kurdish people. Mutual acknowledgement is the platform principle, also it does not refuse from the first to achieve "principle-full co-operation" with "outside left-wing and reformistic power". It declares itself in solidarity with the liberated countries and declares that they are determined to support them. It calls up all turkish and kurdish left-wing powers to join the platform. With that the platform was an important step for the unit of the kurdish and turkish left-wings in the fight against the turkish state.

Likewise the situation in Kurdistan came more and more to a point. On 20.6. ARGK-guerillas occupied the center of Silopi for 10 hours. During this time political meetings were made and at the end 500 new fighters joined the guerilla. 300 of them were peshmergas, who escaped from the poison-gas attacks of Irak put of part of Kurdistan that is occupied by Irak north-west Kurdistan. The turkish state had recieved the irakish-kurdish peshmergas only on the condition that they fight against the liberation fight in north west Kurdistan. Now this plan did not work any more. Those actions in cities were made by the guerilla frequently. Even the extra appointed "super-governor" Hayri Kozakcioglu for all Kurdistan, who was installed in 1987 with all political and military authority and who had at that time promissed arrogant to solve "the problems in the south-east" and the problem of the "separatistic movement" in shortest time, had to confess during the summer-offensive 89 of ARGK, that the region Botan (district of Kurdistan) cannot be controlled totally

on this development the turkish army reacts with further poison gas attacks against the guerilla and starts to make preparations for the depopulation of whole villages by force. the population offers resistance in demonstrations and sitting-blockades against the deportations and in throwing stones against the approaching military. in summer 89 the cai officialy criticizes the previous politic of turkey in kurdistan. it criticizes, that until then turkey has tried to play-down the range and the development of the kurdish liberation fight, but was not able to defeat the guerilla sensitiv. the cai demands for a "changing in the politic of combating the pkk"...., be-

cause the actual politic, in spite of bringing the pkk some problems, was not able to destroy the pkk. the interests of usa on the destroying of the more and more growing liberation-fight is not only connect with the military interests of the nato, but depends also on her own economic interests in this region. in this, the oil-trust chevron for example had to stop his trial to prospect for oil in the cudi-mountains because of the peoples-fight and had to quit the contact with the turkish government. the development in kurdistan, the realization that the modern turkish army, armed to the teeth, is not able to destroy the liberation movement alone, pushed turkey and the imperialistic states to bring the so called "autonomy-solution" into the diskussion again. for that purpose then in october 1989 a conference with the name "kurds, human-rights and national identity" under the presidency of danielle mitterand took place in paris. representatives of usa, england and frg as well as deputies of some kurdish exile-organisations, who works together



with the turkish state since the beginning of the liberation fight, participate in the conference. the autonomy-solution means the acceptance of the kurdish language and culture. kurdistan, shall get a own regional-parliament, which is however also controlled by turkey further. against this illusion the pkk intensifies the liberation-fight with the slogan "the solution is not autonomy but indipendence".

since the end of 1989 there is a military balance of power between argk and the turkish army. the guerilla-units are grown to regiments with about 1000 fighters. meanwhile 2/3 of them are women. the guerilla is supported by the population in every reach. in the region botan the argk is able to control large areas so that the turkish army cannot march in any more. also a further training-camp for the guerilla was builded-up here and the development of the peoples self-organisations is in botan the farthest. especially the participation of women in the peoples-comitees is grown. the peoples-comitees shape the political essence of an independent kurdistan. now they have the duty, for example, to secure the education and providing of the population. the construction of peoples militias is important for the peoples self-defending against the terror. these people-militias also make self-organized actions against the army and instalations of state. this organisation creates the political and material basis for the present people-suprise.

#### PEOPLE-UPRISE "SERHILDAN"

on the 12. march 1990 in the district mardin happened a battle between the argk and the turkish army in wich 13 fighters of argk were killed. some of these were born in nussaybin and the villages nearby. the burial of these fighters changed into a demonstration for the liberation fight. after the burial about 6000 people went back into the city in a close demonstration and began to shout slogans like: "down with the colonialism and 'long life pkk'". after this the turkish army tried to smash the demonstration. the demonstrators defend themselves with sticks and stones against the security-forces. 25 persons were injured at least by shoots and 8 people killed. after this a real rebellion started: the traders striked, all schools stay close because the pupils made a boycott. the population builded barricades on the streets.

the military-command imposed a curfew, which was not followed by the population. in cizre and silopi the traders and pupils joined the strike in nussaybin. few days later in all bigger cities of kurdistan happened solidarity-actions. about 1000 people were arrested during this short time.

at the 19. and 20. of march 1990 a general-strike was proclaimed which was followed by in general. 10000 people demonstrated in cizre and confess themselves frank to the kurdish liberation-fight by shouting slogans. the special

units of the turkish army tried to stop the demonstration and fired aimless after been attacked with stones. many people were injured and 10-15 were killed. nevertheless they could not smash the demonstration. it went on close until the end. in parallel several state-institutions were attacked. after this demonstration the turkish military-administration imposed again a curfew. nevertheless everywhere in the city fights between the turkish army and the people-militias happen. the argk-units of the city had

the function to stop the supply-troops of the army. on that day the high grade of organisation of the peoples-comitees proves itself and finds its practical application and unit in the common acting with the armed liberation-forces.

in march of this year, during the "week of heroes and resistance", that was proclaimed by the erk. the peoples-uprise expanded in the region mardin and botan totally, but also partly in the remaining areas of north-west kurdistan. also in the cities of turkey it came to plenty solidarity-actions. the political prisoners in the prison of van and diyarbakir started a 14 day long hunger-strike. on the 27.3 the erk-representation of the region cizre/botan demands the population to stop the strikes for that time, for gathering new power again, to interchange the last experiences and to make new plans for further strikes and actions. than on the 1. may demonstrations and strikes took place in many cities of kurdistan. also in istanbul it was tried to make a demonstration which was at once attacked by the turkish army.

#### PREPARATIONS FOR MASSACRES

during the uprising the turkish government proclaimed, that it is firmly determined to "solve the problem by military". on the 28.3., the national security council came together because of this "problem". to the council belongs the whole military and political leading of turkey, even the oppositional partys took part in it. several decisions for defeating the uprising were made there, like for example the reinforcement of the army in the uprising-areas, the constant readiness of the army and the declaration of the martial-law, the prohibition of reporting in and about the uprising-areas and so on.

besides, all editors of turkish news-papers were invited to the state-president for a confidential talk. the result was the total news-oppression belonging the uprising. in addition the turkish government made many new laws, which should legalize this proceeding.

because of the new-oppression it is very difficult to get exact informations about the concret situation in kurdistan. kurdistan shall be locked up in front of the international publicity, so that the military has a free hand for acting. but it is sure, that the military-actions of the ark expand on further areas and that it always comes to demonstrations, strikes and other actions, of the population again. until the 24.5. the prisoners have demonstrated with short term hungerstrikes against the special-law and against the transfer of prisoners into the new isolation-tract to eskeshir. this prison is rebuild according to west-european standart, that means isolation-detention. the hungerstrike was limited on one week. 5660 prisoners took part in it. in some prisons the prisoners have not stopped the strike until now.

thereupon 500 relatives have made a solidary-hunger-strike in the building of the socialist party. at the 28.5. the building was evicted, the people beaten and 304 arrested. at the 7.6. 24 of them were still in prison. in parallel started in diyarbakir a mass-proces against the participants of the uprising. the most of the defendants are women and children. the proces takes place under exclusion of the publicity, even the press is not allowed. the argument for this is that there are also children among the defendants and their identity must be defendet.

in kurdistan the situation has aggravated. the news-oppre-

ssion makes it possible, that "under exclusion of the publicity" it comes to massacres of the kurdish population and the guerilla will be attrited and defeated succesful. in this phase it is the aim of the guerilla to remain

flexible by all means and to expand their actions out of the regions and cities. this brings the possibility to split the forces of the turkish army, because in this way she is confronted with attacks everywhere. besides it is the aim to free the region botan finally.

the self-organisations of the people are confronted with a very difficult task. after their short time of structuring they stand in the midst of escalated confrontation with the turkish army.

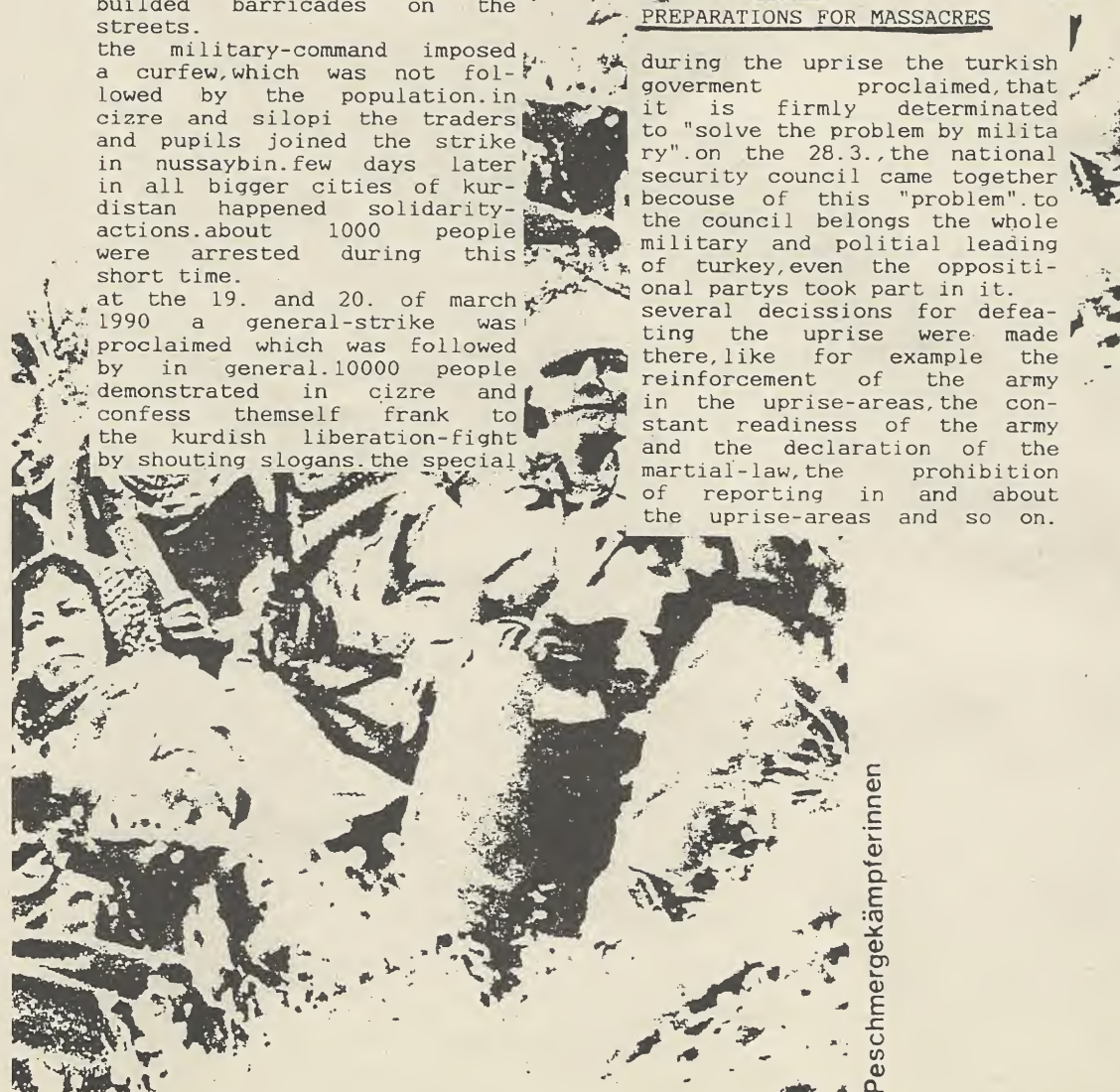
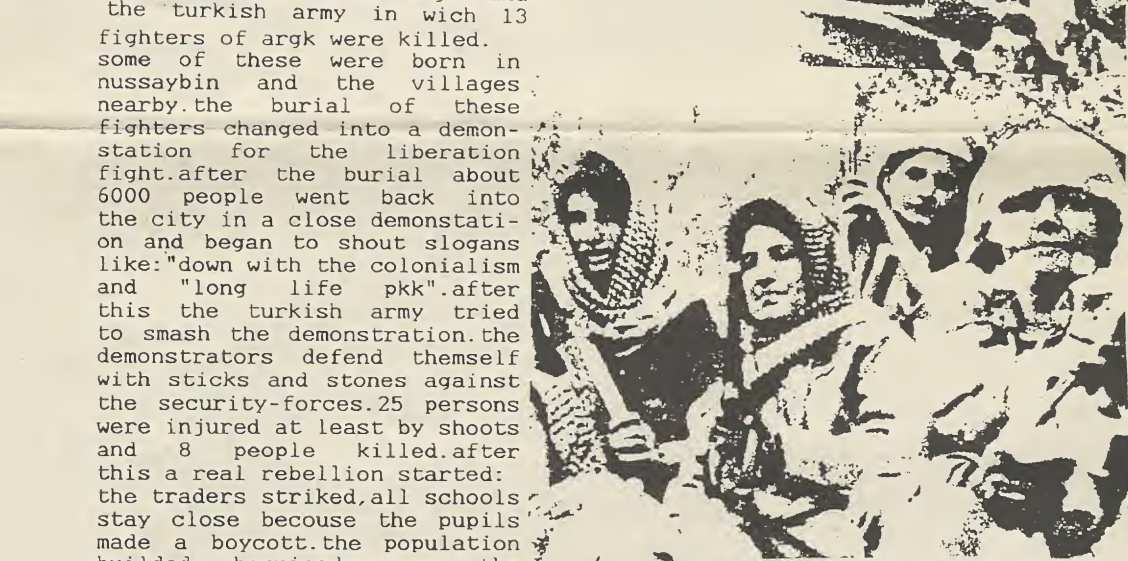
turkey itself is under an enourmous pressure. through the world-wide changed situation and the unstable situation in kurdistan, turkey actually looses out of the strategic point of view its importance in the nato and likewise the western capital has in the present time less interest in turkey. these factors altogether make it essential for the turkish state to act quickly and succesfully. the possibility of a renewed putsch and the danger of massacres upon the kurdish population therefor must be taken very serious.



Peschmergekämpferinnen

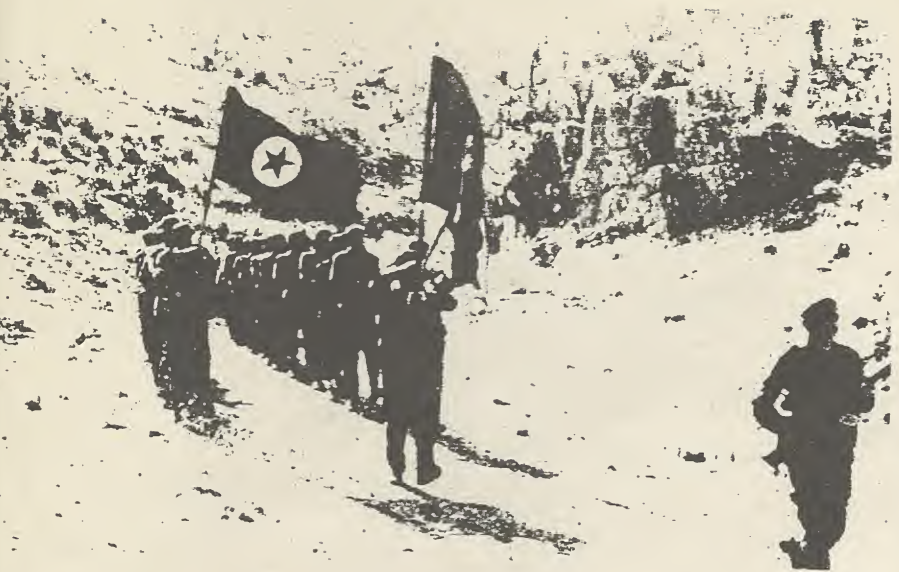


Peschmergekämpferinnen



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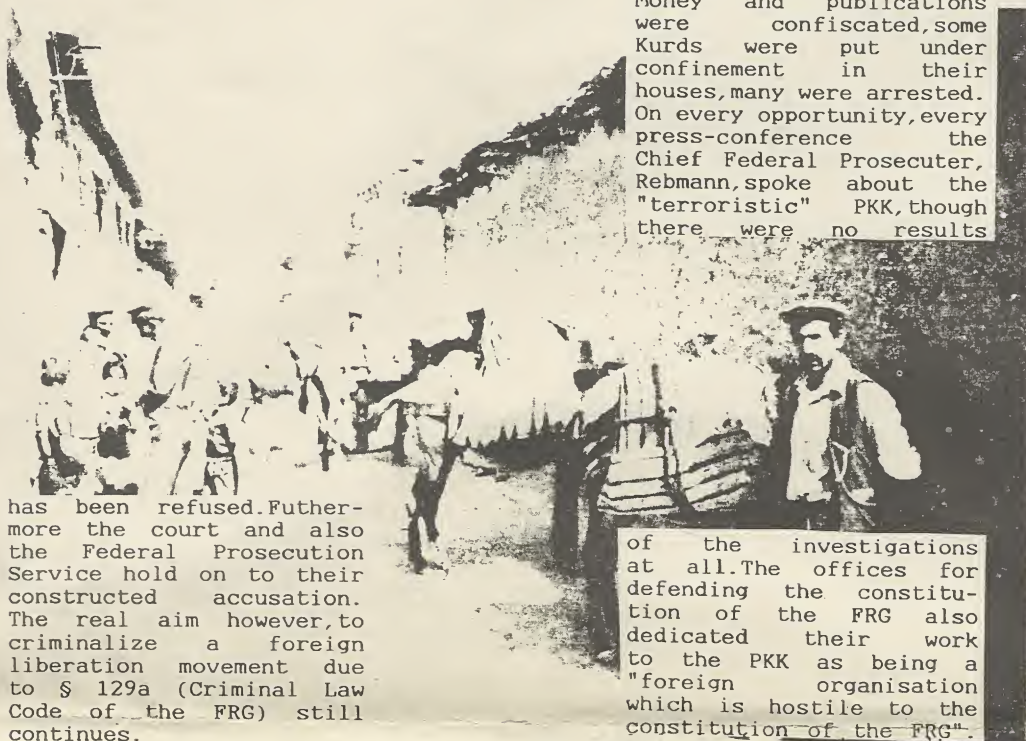


"The will of an enslaved people to be independent and free cannot be charged." (hasan hayri güler),

Since the 24th of October, 1989, a trial has been in progress against 18 kurdish men and women in front of the Provincial High Court in Düsseldorf. The Base of this trial is the § 129a (Criminal Law Code of the FRG) which means "membership of a terrorist organisation." Now first decisions were made by the counsel for defence and defendants themselves to suspend this trial. At the 30th day of the proceeding trial was suspended against one of the accused, seven others were set free by a bail of 80 thousand D-Marks altogether. The acrylic glass-dividing wall in the courtroom, which did cut off the prisoners from the rest of the participants of trial, has lately been dismantled. And also another proceeding has been suspended lately. As the Federal Prosecution Service did not succeed with the strategy of dissociation and separation the reason for these developments are political ones. In the first place it is clearly a success of the kurdish men and women who live in the

FRG, who joined in solidarity with the defendants. The other reason is the struggle for independence in Kurdistan itself. Continuously in crowds the kurdish people came to the trial and joined in lots of meetings, demonstrations and manifestations. Doing so they showed their unbroken solidarity. Another reason is the growing number of critical western german attendants in the courtroom. Even representatives of liberal medias have come observe the trial. Also the protests from other (european) countries influenced the proceeding. International delegations visited the trial and condemned openly the prevailing conditions there. But we cannot speak of a liberalisation in the trial at all. In spite of all successes the rights of defence are massively restricted and the problems of translation are still aggravating. Eight of the defendants are still being kept in extrem solitary confinement. Lately even the Attornies of Law are being criminalized. Pretending that they published internal documents of the court records two of them are faced with an own proceeding. Two others are persecuted because of having made alleged filthy comments inside the courtroom. Already on the 6th of February, 1990, the application of suspension has been refused by the court as being "unfounded at present". Also the critics of how the High Court has been put together, which means that court really is a special court,

## § 129a trial against the Workersparty of Kurdistan (PKK)



has been refused. Furthermore the court and also the Federal Prosecution Service hold on to their constructed accusation. The real aim however, to criminalize a foreign liberation movement due to § 129a (Criminal Law Code of the FRG) still continues.

### CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS AND CONSTRUCTION OF ACCUSATION

Already before 1989 there were efforts to criminalize the PKK in various western european countries (as in Sweden, France and Switzerland). These efforts have not been very successful as we have learned by the attempt to make the PKK responsible for the murder of Olaf Palme. Only the FRG has the experience for years and also the readiness of a special court to prosecute people because of their mere membership in a political organisation and to sentence them to long prison penals. Only in the FRG a further advance seemed to be possible as there is no other country in Western Europe which disposes of such a clever and well proved instrument for political criminal offences. Already in Octobre 1986 the Chief Federal Prosecutor, Kurt Rebmann, met the turkish ambassador and together they declared to intensify the "common fight against terrorism". On the 1st of January, 1987 a new "antiterror-law" was put into force which had been massively supported by Rebmann himself. This law widens the § 129a very much. Especially this law makes it possible now to prosecute foreign political organisations. Also the regulation of "Kronzeugen"-witnesses was established and competence of the Chief Federal Prosecutor was extended to acts which injure the exterior security of the FRG and respectively the NATO-troops".

A few days later the BKA (Federal Criminal Service (??)) wrote down the first note to start a preliminary investigation because of the suspicion of "terroristic activities" by the PKK. At the end of the year a massive wave of repression was being started against kurdish organisations in the FRG which support the struggle for independence in Northwest-Kurdistan. There were raids in private lodgings as well as in association rooms. Money and publications were confiscated, some Kurds were put under confinement in their houses, many were arrested. On every opportunity, every press-conference the Chief Federal Prosecutor, Rebmann, spoke about the "terroristic" PKK, though there were no results

of the investigations at all. The offices for defending the constitution of the FRG also dedicated their work to the PKK as being a "foreign organisation which is hostile to the constitution of the FRG".

And the bourgeoisie medias heated up the atmosphere by writing continuously about the increasing danger of foreign organisations in the FRG. The turkish government was delighted about this development. In August 1987 the turkish newspaper "Milliyet" wrote: "Now we also attack this gang in Europe!" The massive propaganda campaign by the yellow press against the kurdish liberation struggle was support even by left-wing groups and their publications (f.e. the Greens, GAL Hamburg, KB/Arbeiterkampf). In this extrem situation we can make out the real signification.

At the same time in some groups of the reformistic left intensified an open campaign to dissociate with the PKK and also the kurdish struggle for independence. On the contrary the solidarity amongst the kurdish people in the FRG increased. They could not be divided. In February 1988, with the imprisonment of 20 kurdish men and women, this wave of repression reached its temporary top. (peak) The accusation against most of them is "membership of a terrorist organisation" (§ 129a) and some lower subjects such as the forgery of documents. Although four of the defendants are accused of murder. Very soon after the imprisonment the plan were made to alter the special courtroom section of the Provincial High Court in Düsseldorf, which is placed in the grounds of police barracks. For approximately 8 Mill. D-Mark they were planing to alter it into

a bunker-like building especially for this trial against the kurdish men and women. Before the alteration this trial-bunker had been used for trials against members of the RAF or people of the resistance movement in the FRG.

In Octobre 1989 the accusation started, juristically based merely onto the predication of 3 "Kronzeugen"-witnesses. Lately the case of one of these main incriminating witnesses has been tried in Berlin. For his readiness to predicate as he did, he got discount on his penalty. Instead of a lifelong penalty (he was accused of murder) he got only 5 years. Now his predications are going to be used in the courtroom in Düsseldorf against the kurdish defendants there. For the first time in the FRG the new regulation of the "Kronzeugen"-witness is being used.

It is a fact that with decision the Berlin High Court already judged the predications of the witness as true and so anticipated what still has to be proved in the Düsseldorf trial. Due to the predications of this "Kronzeugen"-witness it is said that a sectional organisation of the PKK has hold alleged "people's courts" on which so called dissidents and critics of the Party were sentenced to death. At the end of Decembre 1988 the Federal Prosecution Service put up a further accusation against two





of the defendants: they are charged with murder in the PKK guerilla camp in Lebanon. During the two years of intensive investigations the Federal Prosecution Service was not successful in the concrete definition of this charged sectional organisation of the PKK. Still the High Court in Düsseldorf presented a new variation when in August 1989 he published his decision to open the trial. Now they say that within the PKK there exists an organisation responsible for discipline, amongst the members, control and intelligence service. This organisation, so the charge says, starts with the General Secretary of the PKK, Abdullah Öcalan, covers the Central Secretary of the PKK, the European Central Committee in Cologne, the Committee for Security, Control and Intelligence Service at the Central Committee in Cologne, irregularly gathering boards of inquiry and Party courtyards and the regional leaders of the Party and finally special working groups. For the first time a foreign liberation movement is sentenced with the § 129a in the FRG. This means that principally every foreign liberation movement can be prosecuted and accused with § 129a.



The actual development of the liberation struggle makes clear that the original military concept to destroy the Kurdish liberation struggle was complete failure. A CIA-Report from August 1989 writes: "The PKK is the most dangerous and terrorist organisation in the world... Their sources abroad have to be dried." The concrete interest in the case of Turkey and Kurdistan is at hand. The liberation struggle, acceptedly led by the PKK, has developed to an unbearable danger for the interests of NATO and also for the FRG-Capital. The FRG-interests become very clear with the immense direct military aid of 600 Mill. D-Marks p.a. and with the financial engagement with which all big federal German combines are present in Turkey and North-west-Kurdistan. In the meantime quite officially the covered cooperation of military, police, justice and intelligence service opened up a second front against the Kurdish liberation struggle in Western Europe. Aim is to hinder political and material support for the liberation struggle from the approximately 400 Thousand Kurds in the FRG. This is, why the main point of the attack is the foreign structure of the ERNK in Western Europe like (for example) the workers association (FEYKA), Committee in Cologne or the publications distributed by AGRI-Publishers. On the one side with raids, arrests, confiscations and treats the structure shall be destroyed and on the other side the Kurdish people living in the FRG shall be intimidated massively.

The trial is only a temporary peak of this wave of criminalization. This trial is a realized part of a plan which was concluded within the NATO since the beginning of 1980 as a part of their "international terrorist campaign". This means the "low-intensity-warfare"-strategy as an effective tool to fight antiimperialistic liberation movements. The diffamation which was urged in many ways against liberation movements as "terroristic" was meant to destroy solidarity and start dissociation.

More than that the legitimization could be given for an open direct military intervention as we can see for example by the engagement of the USA in Libya, Grenada, Nicaragua, Panama and others. Faced with the critic at these military interventions the European states prefer a more covered way concerning their security policy. This means to criminalize liberation movements by calling them "terroristic" and tell the own prosecution offices/services to interfere. This trial does not only aim against the Kurdish Liberation Struggle but has a significance further than that. The exemplary representation of a liberation movement as "terroristic" is an attack against international agreements on human rights and the law of the nations. With the UN-resolution 2621 the right of colonized people to fight against colonial power which suppresses their effort to gain freedom and independence, is acknowledged. There is an additional record of the Genf Convention from 1977 which forbids criminal prosecution of those actions in context with an armed liberation struggle. In 1978 the UN-Plenary meeting in a resolution to fight the international terrorism explicitly urged the fact, that national liberation movements are always involved in violent struggles. This means they are not terroristic at all! The new formulated § 129a will have effects onto other liberation movements. And though the FRG signed all these international agreements she already prepares the criminalization of further organisations. Already the Chief Federal Prosecutor asked for more money and people whilst calling upon further investigations against foreign organisations. The alleged activities in the Lebanon shall subject of this trial. This is a massive attack against the sovereignty of a state by widening out the Federal German Law onto anything, which happens abroad. These attacks against liberation movements can also be found in the new asylum- and law for foreigners. They mean a further excavation of the fundamental human rights inside the FRG. With this law political activities from foreigners which injure the "political interests of the FRG in foreign affairs" can be criminalized and be declared for a reason for deportation. What this means in the near future the decision of the Federal Constitution Court makes clear: the

constitutional complaint of a Kurd was refused, who stressed that in case of deportation he would have to face prison and torture. The decision says that the claim for asylum can be refused, when the applicant in the FRG supported "terroristic activities" in Turkey. In this case support meant taking part in a demonstration against the military putsch in Turkey. The continuing standardization in Western Europe concerning the asylum- and refugee-policies makes clear how the policy of cutting Western Europe off the rest of the world works. On the one side the international acknowledged law of nations simply is being ignored on the other side a vacuum is created which is supposed to hinder all solidarity with any liberation movement in the world. The preceding agitation campaign against the Kurdish liberation struggle also made the political ground to succeed with the new asylum- and law for foreigners.

IMMEDIATE SUSPENSION  
OF THE § 129a TRIAL AGAINST  
THE KURDISH STRUGGLE  
FOR INDEPENDENCE!

FREEDOM FOR THE DEFENDANTS  
AND NO DEPORTATION!

AGAINST THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC  
AND MILITARY SUPPORT OF  
COLONIAL-FASCIST TURKEY THROUGH  
THE FRG AND WESTERN EUROPE!

SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE  
FOR LIBERATION IN KURDISTAN!

LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAN  
INTERNATIONALISM!

UP WITH INTERNATIONAL  
SOLIDARITY!



#### BACKGROUND AND POLITICAL DIMENSION

When in 1984 the Workers Party of Kurdistan (PKK) and their armed units (HRK) resumed the armed struggle in Northwest-Kurdistan the Turkish federal state bragged: "Within 72 hours we will get rid of these bandits!"



# Interview with Hüseyin Celebi, Kurdistan-Comitee, Cologne/FRG June 1990

What happened to me?

Well, I was sitting here in the Komitee when the SEK (Sondereinsatzkommando - special task force) came rushing in in their "lovely" kind and we all were taken to the police headquarters. Nobody told us why. My lawyer came the next morning but he was not informed either. He only said that we were going to be taken to Karlsruhe, that the Federal Prosecution Service initiated proceedings against us and that he thought that a warrant was issued for our arrest. Then we were

because even such few minutes of seeing each other were not possible after that for a long long time. Once again we saw each other on the way to Karlsruhe. When we were taken to the airport, we were sitting in a bus with six single-cells. Between them there were glass-windows so we could see and shout at each other. Here I met some friends of ours, of whom I did not know until then, that they had become victims of the same destiny as I. In the helicopter we sat together but it was too loud to talk. After that we did not see each other until the trial started. I remember when I was taken out with my warrant (of arrest) I could see how Selman (Arslan) was taken through a door about 100 metres away. That was the last picture which I took with me. In jail there was total isolation. 24 hours a day I was on my own. 23 hours in cell, 1 hour on my own in the yard. The only human beings I saw were uniformed, mostly 3 or 4 at a time. This is how you are stigmatized: as a very dangerous prisoner there are always 3 or 4 jailers around you wherever you are being taken. During the first time you have nothing. No papers, no books, no radio. The confinement from the outside is complete. It took 3 months until the first changes came: papers, common yard exercise. As being able to speak and understand the German language, I did not get any Turkish papers.

it after a few minutes and then immediately they separate us from each other. But one or two times it was possible for me to see Hafiz this way and we could talk for a few minutes. Later, after the charge had been published, there was an extensive statute of detention, consisting of 57 single points. These points were a program which fitted exactly with our situation as foreign political prisoners. Kurdish newspapers were prohibited, Turkish papers were reduced down to three boulevard papers which were impossible to read. The radio was censored that way, that we were not allowed to listen to VHF or short-wave-transmitter. This meant, that it was not possible for us to listen to any program, which we were able to understand if we didn't understand German. There were a few specialties for example when we went out for the common yard exercises. We were told, that it was not allowed for us, to come together with Kurdish prisoners. It is not very often, that it is good for Kurds, when they do not have a passport, but in this situation it was really good, because the direction of the jail was not able to tell apart Kurds and Turks. And so this decision was practically not carried through. One of the worst method of isolation was the censorship. The reasons, which were given for some censorship very really silly at times. For example, political statements in letters were stopped, newspapers were snipped into pieces and so on.

Question: While being in prison, you made several hungerstrikes to push through better conditions of detention. Were there any noticeable changes?

Hüseyin: There were very small changes. There were these completely silly and hard orders for example that we were allowed to have a radio, which we could not understand, or that we were allowed to read newspapers which in normal life we wouldn't even touch. Well, these things were changed. And the possibility to have common yard exercises was also a change, which was taken after the hungerstrike. We were also allowed to visit so-called common meetings, but I must say, that the conditions to take part in these common meetings were really unworthy of human beings. For example we were allowed to take part in a sermon. This is quite uninteresting for itself, but it is very good to come together with other prisoners. That really is the reason, why so many prisoners go there at all. We were allowed to take part at the sermon, but we had to sit apart from the others, which made it impossible for us to get in contact with any of the prisoners there. Also the jailers had to sit next to us. This we did not accept, it was absolutely senseless this way. Particularly I want to emphasize, that the isolation is even worse, because we cannot speak the language. Except of me and another comrade, none of the others is able to speak the German language. Selhattin Erdem described his situation in a letter to me, he wrote: You are a prisoner, but I am a doubled prisoner. He was not even able to say anything to the jailers or to understand anything, which they said to him.

Question: Internationally this form of detention is described as "white torture". Have you in any way been prepared for these conditions in jail? Have you ever had a good look at these conditions or was it a complete new experience for you?

Hüseyin: It really was a complete new experience for me, which doesn't mean that I have not read about it before. Though that was not very much. And I want to emphasize the word experience. You can read as much as you want about anything, but I don't think, that you can really under-

## Part I - Imprisonment and Jail

Question: Towards the end of 1987 the Federal Prosecution Service, led by the Chief Federal Prosecutor, Kurt Rebmann, started a massive campaign to criminalize Kurdish organisations who support the fight for independence in Northwest-Kurdistan. They were spied on, there were attacks against the festivities, lots of house-searchings and confiscation of money and publications. The temporary top reached this campaign on the 15th of February in 1988 with the imprisonment of you and 19 other comrades of yours. The base for this was the §129a (code of criminal procedure of the FRG, StPO). Can you please tell us about what happened to you that time and of what you were accused? What is your opinion was the purpose of this very widely stretched wave of repression?

Hüseyin: I don't think I will ever forget this 15th of February 1988. But I want to reach out a bit further: it is true that the wave of repression was strengthened in 1988 though the real prosecution started long before that. Already in the mid of the eighties there were intense propaganda campaigns which aimed to criminalize us. That was the case in Sweden but also in the FRG. They went as far as to organise frame-ups, such as the case of Faruk Bozkurt in Hamburg. All this on top of the juridically expansion of the §129a onto foreign organisations, prepared the ground to start preliminary proceedings against the PKK (Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan - Workers Party of Kurdistan) on the 1st of January 1987. But already in 1983 there were threats of the ministry of the interior even to prohibit the PKK. That was soon after Halk Der / Dev Sol had been prohibited (after the occupation of the Turkish consulate in Cologne, Red.) and during 1984 they continually repeated that they were watching us and so on. The start of the preliminary proceedings were combined with loads of repression

which were all aimed to investigate. They were looking for a base to attack us. All this ended with our imprisonment in February 1988. When we look at this time it becomes clear, that the reason behind all this is much more than what the charge against us says today. There are 3 pillars of this project "attack against the PKK". The first and essential pillar is the development of the liberation struggle in Northwest-Kurdistan, which gets the Nato-Partner Turkey, the south-east-flank of the Nato in trouble. This hinders the solution of the Kurdish question according to the imperialistic plans. This liberation struggle attacks and tears apart the colonialistic construction in the middle east which existed and exists completely due to the interests of imperialism. It was very important to them to stop this development. Turkey has used different methods in this war. While in 1984 they only shrugged their shoulders when the armed struggle started and said, this would be a matter of only 72 hours, they had to realize that our struggle developed immensely and took a new step after the other. So they reached the point where they had to realize that it was

impossible to stop the fight by themselves. They tried to solve the problem with one blow which they started to prepare.

In 1988 they called the "Year of Destiny". We think this had also to do with the decisions taken on the third Congress of the PKK in 1986, which were very important for the development of the liberation struggle. While in 1987 the realization of these decisions was prepared with a few more or less successful actions, they were meant to be realized in 1988. Of course, this planning was known by the Turkish state and he did everything to hinder us. In this context we understood the offensive of 1988. Well, I said there were 3 pillars of which one is the military attack against the guerilla at the end of 1987. With this they tried to "solve" the problem in the military way.

The second pillar were the attacks in the FRG. Openly they had said that they were going to cut the trachea of the movement abroad. They intended to stop the support from abroad completely and even wanted to make it impossible for the movement to defend herself with publicity. I think to understand the background fully it is good to know, that already in 1985 Turkey had sent various government representatives to the FRG who demanded to stop the so-called "separatistic activities" abroad. In the FRG there live 400 thousand Kurds of whom a lot support massively the liberation struggle, as well material as politically. This they want to stop. The FRG, whose interests correspond with those of the Turkish state, didn't hesitate to prepare what ended temporarily - with the imprisonments in February 1988.

The third pillar of this "attack against the PKK" was an attack from within the organisation. Up till now we are not sure of the whole dimension of this attack. There was infiltration by the Turkish state, which, mixed with political differences within the party, helped a clique to try and liquidate the organisation. They tried to turn the PKK into a so-called "democratic PKK". All these attacks were timed perfectly indeed: the military offensive in winter 1987/88, the imprisonments in spring 1988 and finally this attempt of liquidation in autumn 1988. Objectively these attacks belong together and did have the same aim. And there might have been co-operation as well. This is, roughly, the background to the trial.

taken to Karlsruhe by helicopter. The magistrate red the warrant to us and also the accusation: membership in a "terroristic organization", wrongful deprivation of personal liberty and attempted murder. I did not know of what the others were accused as our separation from each other was perfect since we arrived in Karlsruhe. I was very astonished of these accusations especially about the membership in a "terroristic organization within the PKK" as the representative of the Federal Prosecution Service emphasized. After that I was taken to Wuppertal to jail. I must admit that it took a few days to cover the first shock and to realize what had happened. I red the warrant countless times and still couldn't understand. I really had not been prepared for such a situation at all.

Question: You just mentioned that in Karlsruhe you were separated from each other. Can you say something about your conditions of imprisonment?

Hüseyin: In fact we already were separated in the rooms of the Kurdistan-Comitee, where we were taken prisoners. As there are quite a lot of rooms each of us were put in one room on his own. Alone I was taken to the Police headquarters. There I could see a few friends of ours, who were taken prisoners in other offices and houses. The interesting thing at the police headquarters was that everything worked like a machine: I was taken to a door, where I had to wait outside. I could caught a glimpse of another friend inside the room and of a third one, who was just taken out there to another measure. Then I was taken into the room, the other person was taken out and behind me the next one had to wait outside the door - just like in a machine. It was obvious that we shouldn't see each other nor talk to each other. When we accidentally met, we were drawn apart at once. I was taken to a solitary cell. Later - during a covered confrontation - about 8 of us came together once more. That it was a covered confrontation we learned months later from the files. This meeting lasted only a few minutes - but I talk about it so detailed

Question: After three months, you said, you had the opportunity for common yard exercises. But that was with other prisoners, not with your friends?

Hüseyin: Yes, you're right, I always forget to say but it is clear, that political prisoners never have the opportunity to come together. Anyway in this jail in Wuppertal, except of me, there was only one other political prisoner. Though that changed, when another comrade of mine, who had been in a complete different section before, came into that jail. I never saw him, and soon he was released. I only know that he has been there because of decisions from the court, which I red in the files later on. These said, that it was prohibited for me to come toge-

ther with him. Later there came a Palästianian comrade, who had to stay there for a long time. His name was Hafiz. But with him it was also not possible to get in contact. Sometimes, when they take us to do our shopping, it happens accidentally that we meet each other. Political prisoners are always taken separately to do the shopping, one after the other, and sometimes they don't manage the coordination and it happens that all of a sudden two political prisoners are in one room. Normally they realize



stand what it means, if you miss the practical experience. And I totally agree, when people say, that this is "white torture". It is the clean, unbloody form of torture. Because the effect concerning the aim and the long-termed pains is exactly the same. A person, who is tortured physically has to suffer pain in the very moment, when torture is used against him. The heavy pains aim at to get information out of him or her or to break him or her. But the long-termed pains will stay. And this is the same with the solitary confinement. The only difference is, that the plan is even more long-termed. Always to be left on your own, always this harassment and always this arbitrary orders, the permanent pressure, which is put onto you, the absolute cold surrounding, the absolute separation from any form of humanity, from any contact, all this has the same aim. After three months of total isolation all of a sudden there came faces of the Federal Criminal Police Office, who came and asked, whether you don't want to make a statement now! By doing this, they make use of a very special situation in which you are, after you haven't talked to somebody for three months, and when you have a very natural desire to talk to someone, never mind who the person is, never mind about what. This is a well-aimed policy. What Turkish (and other) torturers try to find out in one day, the torturers in this country try to find out with three months solitary confinement. Of course there is a difference, it is not an open bloody torture. But when I look at the effects of which people suffer, who were tortured in Turkey and who were tortured here, then I do not see a big difference. The main effect, which marks people, is psychological. In very special situations again and again they will remember the torture.

**Question:** For twenty years now, since there are political prisoners in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) solitary confinement is reality for the political prisoners here. On the first of February in 1989 prisoners from the RAF (Red Army Faction/Rote Armee Fraktion) started their 10th hungerstrike for consolidation and the freedom for those prisoners incapable of detention. The prisoners from the revolutionary resistance (Widerstand) joined this hungerstrike and also other prisoners, who joined with claims on their own.

Did you hear anything of this strike when you were in prison and what did you think of it?

**Hüseyin:** I did hear from the start and the proceeding of the hungerstrike. Though I did not have any authentic news, because everything, which was sent to me concerning the strike, was consequently stopped by the court. Each page on which somebody wrote about the strike, each article, each small note was cut off, the censorship was total. Also what I wrote about the strike was stopped and did not leave prison at all. They really tried everything to hinder, that we got any information about it. Also I must say, that the others of my comrades, especially those who do not understand the German language at all, did not know from the hungerstrike for a long time. While the strike was on, amongst us there were complete different discussions. I knew about the discussions about the consolidation of the political prisoners from before. Our own situation made it clear to me, that their claim for consolidation and all the other claims were ours as well. Even if we never formulated it in the same way, their claims were the same which we had, they concerned the same situation. During this time we made a hungerstrike ourselves against the aggravating conditions of detention. I think it was not a very lucky date. When I wrote my explanation to my taking part in our strike, I related our strike to theirs and I showed solidarity. I don't know whether this ever was published. As far as I know, all my explanations concerning the strike were stopped.

(Red.: To this we can say that it was known and at the big demonstration to support the claims of the political prisoners in hungerstrike, which took place on the 29th of April in 1989 in Bonn, it was announced, that you and your comrades were on hungerstrike as well. From the demonstration you all were saluted too.)

## Part II - Course of trial and Strategy of Defence

**Question:** Due to solitary confinement it was not possible for you to prepare the trial together. Nevertheless during the trial everyone of you emanated strength and unity which impressed us very much. What is the source of your common strength and unity?

**Hüseyin:** First of all our common struggle. I think this is the most important link between us. The situation of people who live like slaves and who fight as human beings against this slavery for liberation. This is our aim and the idea of this aim is a very strong link between us and makes us strong and gives us strength. Also because we know that we are in the right and that our struggle is just. On the other side we have a very long experience in struggling, especially concerning imprisonment, struggle in jails and trials. There are lots of PKK-trials in Turkey and it is clear for us, that we are in tradition of the experience of our comrades in Turkey and in Kurdistan in the jails. These two things, the common aim and the close human solidarity which means that we're ready to be there for one another, one for all and all for one. These are the most important reasons, why we emanate strength and closeness. Most of us know each other for some time and we have made a few experiences together and this is what welds us together.

**Question:** From the beginning the conditions in the bunker-like courtroom have been so extrem, that it is impossible to put up a fair defence. Please describe these conditions and what do you think they aim at.

**Hüseyin:** It is well known, that this bunker has been altered for about 8 Million D-Marks especially for this trial. In the cellar there are new cells of detention. I am not quite sure, but I think there are about 15 single cells. In the very section, where 5 or 6 of us were imprisoned (on trial days) there were 13 single-cells. But this was only a part of various cell-sections down there. This makes clear, what the reason is, the reason is to prepare one of these bunker-courts (there are a few more, for example Stammheim) for mass-trials. And all the possibilities which they want to have against small groups of prisoners and against single prisoners as well they have prepared for mass-trials. The sections are separated from each other, it is a real labyrinth down there. I was there for four months and during the whole time I did not understand, how we got to the place where we were brought. It is built like a labyrinth, you are not supposed to look through. For example, each time when we were taken to the court-room, we went a different way as the time before. So you never knew exactly where you were. Upstairs in the court-room this aquarium, the cage which was the first thing which jumped into your eye, when you came in. The plexi-glass-dividing-wall, which separated us from our counsel of defence as well as from the rest of the court-room. There were three so-called talking-points, holes in the dividing-wall, where we could talk to our lawyers, if we wanted to. The lawyers themselves were placed far away from us, some up to 16 metres. If we wanted to talk to them, we had to press a button on a switchboard in front of us and then a red light went on at their place. But this did never really work, already on the second day of the trial the whole system broke down. This dividing-wall was a novelty in the history of trials in the FRG and we have to see it in context with what they built down in the cellar: it is the try to push through a mass-trial as a pilot-project. With this they have tried out, how far they can go and how it works. Today, as we know, this dividing-wall has been torn down. Nevertheless I am sure, that they made their experience with this thing and they will make it better the next time. That they had to tear down this dividing-wall might have

many reasons, but I do not believe, that they have given up the project altogether. All the conditions in this trial, even the problem with the translators, were meant for propaganda in the first place. This propaganda, which lasted two years, which said, that we were the most dangerous "terrorists", the new and actual danger for the inner security of the FRG had to be exposed in a proper picture. What is better to do this, than a dividing-wall or a cage, with which special associations are connected?! Those who are behind the wall must be monsters, must be so dangerous, that they have to be separated from the rest of mankind behind these panes. This was, what had to be expressed. When this dividing-wall has vanished today, it is also, because the propaganda in this very point had not been successful. The picture from the most dangerous "terrorists" could not be carried through.

**Question:** As you already said, this dividing-wall is not there any more and we agree with your opinion that this is not due to a liberalization at all. Against two of you the proceedings have been abandoned, seven of you have been set free on bail and what do you think where the reason for these changes?

**Hüseyin:** They speak of their reasons for this quite openly. The Chief Federal Prosecutor, Mr. Rebmann, said, that this trial is expecting too much from the German justice. Saying this, he does not mean that there are any loopholes but it has to do with the fact, that the FRG is still quite unexperienced in the new role as a world's policeman in this trial. There are difficulties with the propagandistic but also with the concrete proceedings of this trial. The picture which was tried to place with this trial has turned around vice-versa. The attempt to show up twenty human beings as monsters behind a glass-dividing-wall has turned around vice-versa. There were critics even from liberal groups that this shouldn't take place as it did. That a mass-trial, which put up associations with the worst mass-trials in Turkey should not be proceeded in the FRG. It was clear, that this was a show-trial. Everyone, who entered this court-room could see that there was a show going on. This window-pane behind which we were put was the symbol of this show. The big number of people being displayed between the jailers was a very technical show.

But at the same time all this made clear what was going on in this court-room and they had to change it. With the release of seven of the prisoners and with the abandoning of two of the proceedings they tried to get better and new conditions for themselves. Their aim is still the same. What did they gain with the release of seven people? They gained approval of very special groups within the liberal public which say now: what do you want? Justice has won in the end! And everything superficial, which caused critics in the public, like this dividing-wall, has been removed. While, as regards contents, every point of the charge and the test for the first time to sentence a liberation movement as "terroristic" in the FRG for the first time as well as the try to grant the FRG the right of jurisdiction abroad, which means the Libanon-charge, with all this nothing has changed. They need the quiet just to carry through these points.

**Question:** During the first weeks of the proceedings your counsel for defense made an extensive application to suspend the trial. A big part of this application is your description of your liberation struggle in Kurdistan. Very detailed you give the reasons why it is impossible to criminalize and condemn a national liberation movement by following western-german law. In this context: what is the meaning of this trial to you? How do you determine your task?

**Hüseyin:** For a revolutionary the place where he or she stays is of absolutely no interest. That means a revolutionary is a revolutionary everywhere. So this court-room is not a place, where

we behave different as in another situation in freedom or elsewhere. We say very openly, that we look at this trial as a stage. On this stage we want to show very concrete why we do what, when and where and how we do it. And this was made very clear by our statements. They concern the economical, political and social backgrounds of our struggle. This is one part of our statements. And here I want to quote Ismail Bescici (a Turkish sociologist who is imprisoned for writing books about the situation of the Kurds in Turkey as being a colonized people) who said that a trial gives the opportunity to allow people a distinctive look at our struggle in Kurdistan, because we can stand up and explain our point of view. The other point is that we understand this trial as a part of our struggle against imperialism, colonialism and feudal reaction. And according to this we have to accuse what imperialism and colonialism is doing to the oppressed sections of our people. We accuse clearly in which crimes imperialism and colonialism are taking part and how they work together. This is the meaning of trials like this and like many other liberation movements in the world we understand this trial as a tribunate.

**Question:** For the first time in the FRG, a trial based on the 129a, has been started against a foreign liberation movement. What is the meaning of this for the further political development in the FRG as well for you as Kurds as for other liberation movements?

**Hüseyin:** With this pilot project they work out a rather dangerous story. Should the FRG succeed in packing down juristically this criminalization and stigmatisation as "terrorists" and if it comes to a sentencing based on the 129a, than their machinery of repression will start to work. Still they give the impression, that they have to find out whether there exists a "terroristic organisation" or not. But should they succeed, than every statement to liberation movements can be weighed as support and mean the corresponding consequences. Than they will start a massive attack against all of our activities and this would mean the loss of our ground for the work with the 400 thousand Kurds here in the FRG. With the criminalization they want to make political work and organisation with a big part of our people here in the FRG impossible. And first of all, there is no difference for any of the other liberation movements. Because if they succeed with this pilot project, than tomorrow they can aim at any other liberation movement. If they succeed with the Libanon-Charge tomorrow it will be easy for the FRG to accuse alleged criminal offences in any part of the world, which the FRG doesn't consider as a state under the rule of law. If they succeed with this, they can aim at anyone.

**Question:** At the beginning of February 1990 the application to suspend the trial has been refused by the court as being "unfounded at present". Now the hearing of evidence has started. The charge mainly is based on the testimony of three "Kronzeugen"-witnesses. What significance do you think they have, what prediction would you make for the further proceedings? And what will be your further strategy of defence?

**Hüseyin:** First of all we want to look at the opposite side. They attach quite a big importance to these "Kronzeugen"-witnesses because they say, that the charge stands with the testimony of them or will break together. Especially with this real "Kronzeugen"-witness, the one who did get a rebate on his testimony (which is Ali Cetiner, Red.). His testimony rounded up the "brave chain of circumstantial evidences" (quoted after the Fed. Prosecution Service). The job of the two other witnesses was first of all to bring people into jail. To put a structure onto these people in jail was the job of Ali Cetiner afterwards. Principally the political side of this trial is more important to us.





between the trial and the development of the liberation struggle in Kurdistan?

**Hüseyin:** The FRG takes part in this conflict at the side of Turkey or better said at the side of the ruling class of Turkey. Concrete the FRG takes part on all levels of this conflict. It is their interests, which are the targets of liberation struggle. It is their interests, which are the reason for the oppression by the colonialistic Turkish state. Their weapons are used in this war and their money is invested in it as well. This is what characterizes their role in this conflict. Since the liberation struggle develops the way it does presently the different Western Europe and other imperialistic great-powers tried to develop a special kind of Kurdistan-policy. There are various attempts of pacification and one has to state that it is a fact that the FRG in the attempt to develop a new policy as well stands for the most reactionary position. Many try to pacify Kurdistan by embracing and crushing it down, while the FRG is attacking Kurdistan directly. The FRG is comrade in arms in this war, she is an allied partner. In this context I see the trial. It is part of this position of the FRG. Compared to official statements of other western european countries concerning Kurdistan, the FRG - as became very clear during an "Aktuelle Stunde" in the Western German Bundestag lately - stands clearly at the side of Turkey as far as the Christian Democratic Party and the Liberal Democratic Party is concerned. What the Socialdemocrats say to this question drops back far behind what other Socialdemocratic Parties in Western Europe state in the meantime. The position of the FRG is overtaken completely.

**Question:** You mean that the real situation of proceeding in Kurdistan have overtaken this point of view, that the policy of the FRG is antiquated like the one of Turkey?

**Hüseyin:** Exactly; I think their policy is obsolete. Attacking us with this trial they try to liquidate the PKK but they did not succeed with it. The opposite happened. As well as Turkey, the FRG knows that a liquidation in this way is impossible. There is no military solution against us anymore. These are the facts, this is the reality which they have to accept. In spite of that they still insist of the policy of military solution, than I can say only one thing: their policy is obsolete and reality will find the right answer to this. One has to see, that after the lately proceedings in Western Europe the situation changes rapidly. Which does not mean, that the FRG will give up their interests in our region but the proportions will change. Turkey won't keep their old position of being the south-east flank of the Nato and of being the only Nato-partner with a direct border to the Sowjetunion. The significance will change. Turkey will loose the important role, which she played during the phase of the status-quo. But Turkey doesn't want this and with all possible methods she tries to hold onto her old role. Though this drives her into the corner more and more and isolates her from the other regimes in the region. Since the proceedings in Eastern Europe take place Turkey put their foot in it several times concerning their diplomatic and foreign affairs. On one side they try to keep the USA at hand and supported Israel with helping immigrating Jews from the USSR travelling through to their country. Turkey tried to oppress Iraq and Syria by stopping the waters from Euphrat. Doing this natural allied partners were consternated. The altered situation in Bulgaria the Turkish government used as a valve to stir up Turkish nationalist feelings, so-called the Turkish-islamic synthesis. This frightened Bulgaria a lot and in the end caused lots of difficulties for the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria. The very special kind of relation between Turkey and the FRG is that in spite of all this developments the FRG is still at the side of Turkey. It seems that they will stay there until the bitter end. This must be a very deep love, there is no good sense which can explain this attitude. Really the FRG should start

and think a new. The actual politics being determined by the new situation of market in Eastern Europe and by joining together of the whole northern world under the control of world imperialism mean that the countries

of the three continents will be left aside. The concentration of power in the North means an increasing danger for these countries. On the other side there is a chance in this development. A chance to join together against the rich North. Pressure in some parts of the world ceased. In special regions this gives the room to carry through revolutionary changes. Of course countries as Cuba, Nicaragua and so on will stay natural targets of imperialism. But in between gaps will arise which we have to realize and gain by.

**Question:** This is a very important and extensive theme about which we could talk much longer and we should do so. But once more I want to come back onto your concrete struggle. Very short after the armed struggle was taken up again in Northwest-Kurdistan in 1984 in a few Western European countries a massive campaign of propaganda was stirred up against the PKK, the leading power in this struggle. Nearly all medias called them "terroristic" and it was said that they killed women and children in Kurdistan. Also they were accused to have had sentenced so-called dissidents to death in Europe. In Sweden they even said the PKK was responsible for the murder of President Olof Palme. Can you say anything to these accusations? Who pulled the wires in this campaign and what were the interests pursued?

**Hüseyin:** Lots of different things came together in this campaign and formed a common interest with which this policy of propaganda was started. First of all there is the interest of the Turkish state, then there is the interest of the FRG-imperialism. But why, and this is the real question for me, why did the left and progressive groups join in this campaign. And here I can see an alliance of special groups from the Turkish and the FRG-left, who worked together in this campaign. Many used this campaign as a secondary theatre of war to turn away from their own problems. For the Turkish left these were the breakdown of strategies and lack of perspectives. They tried to attack others at points where they themselves had

no solution any more. As far as the Western German left is concerned I think their attitude is very much centered onto Europe and metropole chauvinistic. Possible that the people themselves are not aware of how arrogant, how - I don't find any more words for this extend of presumption which is hidden in this attitude. They are not aware any more of how much imperialism as already stolen their heads. Of how much this what is described as metropole here has been stonewalled into their heads. Seldom I could see groups to put so much energy into their fight against the main contradictions as they did put into the propaganda campaign against the PKK. A concrete example for this are the Greens from Hamburg, the Green Alternative List (GAL), who published two booklets in 1987 which both were part of this propaganda campaign against the PKK. Several frame-ups gained by this campaign. One has to say - and that is a fact - that our history is a history of frame-ups. From the first day of our existence we were faced with them. It is amazing for us today, that people still believe in them. Well, in summery this is, what came together: the depression of the Turkish left on one side, their lack of perspectives plus their not being able to realize and analyse their own faults. This was turned around into this attack against a power who decided to go another way. And the deep expression of how much imperialism has already managed to cement in the heads of the people, which I see in the Western German left on the other side.

But this does not mean that there were no faults on our side.

Of course we know, and we said this from the beginning, that we are not afraid of these witnesses at all. It is no difficulty for us at all to take these witnesses apart under the right conditions. For us they are not of such an importance as for the Federal Prosecution Service. Though it seems, that in the meantime, even they came to the same conclusion. The testimony of the first "Kronzeugen"-witness, which was really a non-testimony (Hasan Dogan, Red.) made this very clear. One of those "Kronzeugen"-witnesses, being the exhibit for years, all of a sudden refuses to speak. He refers to 55 (StPO) because of alleged self-incrimination. Background is, that there is still a preliminary proceeding running against him. The president of the Provincial High Court in Düsseldorf agreed, that he had the

right to refuse to testify. While refusing to testify, he packs down the extensive testimony he made in front of the police. Now in the court-room the only possibility which is left, is that the policemen will confirm the witnesses statements as true. But they can not be reviewed because a questioning of the witness is not possible any more. We do not want to criticize this 55. We think he is very important, necessary and he is correct. But it is very interesting for us to see, which methods are used in this case. Why is there a preliminary proceeding against Hasan Dogan? According the two files of statements which he made, we can see, that this preliminary proceeding has been used again and again as a form of pressure against him. Hasan Dogan is a rather weak person and he is being blackmailed with promises on the one side and threats on the other. While he was making his statements nobody ever told him anything about this 55! This can be read in the files. Permanently they let him incriminate himself and at the same time they blackmailed statements from him against us. Now, where we want to review his evidences in public he doesn't have to speak any more. I think this says a lot.

There is another "Kronzeugen"-witness, Nusret Arslan. We will hear him after the summer-break in August. He will go down in the annals of history of this trial as the Baron of Muenchhausen. He lied so much, that he will come a cropper. There is no preliminary proceeding going on against him and he cannot refer to 55. The last one is Ali Cetiner, the real "Kronzeugen"-witness, with whom has been played a lot within this case. We will have a long fight, that we can question him the way we want it. Still we don't see real difficulties because Ali Cetiner is an already spent witness.

He has been witness in the Olof Palme-trial in Sweden and caused a lot of difficulties to the Swedish government. One scandal was following the other. After the story in Sweden Cetiner was put into deportation custody and he was going to be deported. But before that happened the FRG fished this witness for herself.

**Question:** Can you make a prediction for the further proceedings and what will be your strategy of defence?

**Hüseyin:** To make any predictions in this trial is very difficult indeed. Nothing works the way it should. Everything is a novelty. What can be said is, that the end of this trial is still completely open. Regarding 129a both possibilities are still open. The FRG had to realize, that this trial was not as easy as they had imagined and now they have to look for new methods. The new law concerning foreigners will be one method, with which they can carry through their purposes. The immense costs for the trial become no longer necessary and they can "solve" the problem much more easier and in much more quiet: with deportations, prohibiting of political activities and so on. Of course there is still the question what use this trial has and it is very difficult for me to make a clear prediction concerning this. Regarding the fact that the end is still open our strategy of defence can only be offensive. The Federal Prosecution Service will be surprised what we'll discover especially by questioning their "Kronzeugen"-witnesses. They will become lots of difficulties with us in this trial. Though they exploited this trial propagandistically juristically it was not prepared very well. The Federal Prosecution Service knows this very well. That is the reason, why our counsel of defence and our lawyers are being attacked by her again and again. They went as far as to start proceedings against our lawyers. One because alleged offence against the obligation to maintain secrecy of court-records (Kamallattaleaflet No.1). Such is the reaction of the Federal Prosecution Service because they feel themselves being driven into a corner. And they defend themselves with such dirty methods. But they will not succeed in intimidating us.

### Part III - Background and Solidarity

**Question:** What is the role of the FRG in the conflict between Turkey and Kurdistan? What are the interests about? Do you see a connection



**Question:** Yes, you described the campaign of propaganda in which lots of left and progressive Western German groups joined in without any contradiction. Surely this is one reason why there is no broad solidarity against this trial and with the liberation struggle in Kurdistan in the FRG. And here I want to inquire again whether there weren't any mistakes on your side in dealings with the left here.

**Hüseyin:** Yes, of course there have been loads of faults on our side as

well. Small ones and big ones. And we can't and we don't want to deny this. But it is not the point whether we acknowledge them or not, important is what we have learned from it. We went through a development which I like to describe as a phase of growing-up. Slowly we grew out of our children's shoes, we grew out of our teething-troubles and today we step forward into a new phase. I want to emphasize that we can't just say, well those were all teething-troubles, it's over now and everything is fine. In many of these events which happened I see some sort of legality. We were a movement which developed in a very difficult situation, faced with the most difficult conditions and with all this tried to lead a very difficult struggle. On top of that we did not have any experience and we were in a situation of absolute persecution. It is well known that the PKK has always been the actual enemy of state within Turkey. For me it is clear, that in such a situation it is very possible to make mistakes and I think this has to be considered in any estimation. Today we see the other side of the story. Today we try to learn from our mistakes and not to repeat them. And I am very optimistic that we will succeed in this. We have proved that we are able to learn. Now we call exactly those, who have been part in the conflict for a long time to start a process of learning as well. We realize a few changes in thinking and there are no open attacks any more as there have been before. Those who were the loudest in the past, are silent today. And many who were part in the attacks before did break their silence and now speak again. This is very good and we have to drive forward on this. This is the base on which a dialogue can be developed and on both sides, on both sides, we have to look and to learn from what happened for the future. Those who still make us guilty for everything will simply not be taken seriously by us, there is nothing we could discuss with them.

**Question:** Once more I want to return to something you said before. Especially I mean the reproach that people here are centered in their minds onto Europe (European-centered). This

is a very important point that the left here in the FRG have a metropolitan chauvinistic thinking. Maybe, you said, they are not conscious of this. Can you give an example for this kind of thinking?

**Hüseyin:** "I don't want to know, what will happen to the Kurdish people if the PKK should come into power." This is a sentence, which I have heard a few days ago and it is an expression for absolute arrogant thinking for me. What she says is stupid. It simply shows that she does not know anything. She does not know that the Kurds never have been in power, they never had any structural power and therefore never could use it in the wrong way. Furthermore this sentence express that the woman thinks the people in Kurdistan are stupid. So stupid, that they lift any political group into power and afterwards follow them blindly. What else does it mean? And how will the PKK - if - come to power? Not with a putsch or anything like that,

but only through the struggle for liberation in which the Kurdish people are taken part actively. And the woman knows, that it is like this. So it means, that she associates with the struggle of the people of Kurdistan the struggle of stupid, poor, little negroes, of poor, little and stupid asians who run behind some smart demagogues and who have to be saved by the good missionary from the land of the white people who says that it is very silly and stupid what they are doing there. This is, what this sentence does express. If I would say this to her, I think she would fall over. Many people do not really think this way and it probably was not bad will, which made her speak so. Anyway I can't imagine that she knows Turkey at all. I don't want to accuse her, maybe she has been incited to this opinion. Though I accuse her of something what is much deeper in this sentence, something, which is deep inside herself. This was only one example of this sayings. There are loads in this context. Again and again we are faced with this in the critics of our political structures.

"What is the standard of the inner democracy in the PKK?" This is another question which I have heard lately. To somebody who stands outside,

a white man or a white woman, this question is of absolutely no concern! With this question people associate developments through which they went themselves. All reproaches against communist mentality, communist party-structures have to do with bad experience, which are reality here in this country. And according to these developments, people here have a very special meaning about what is inner democracy and what is a democratic structure. To try and to look at us from this point of view and even to judge it, judge something, which develops in a complete different part of the world, this is what I mean when I speak of metropolitan chauvinism. Who of those, who say things like that, know only one aspect of Kurdish history, of Kurdish party history, of Kurdish development. I don't think anyone. Still they try to judge our movement and this is the expression of metropolitan chauvinism.

**Question:** In the late sixties, while the war in Vietnam was going on, there was a strong international solidarity movement supporting the struggle of the Vietnamese people against the USA even in the FRG. Today massacres in Kurdistan, on the Philippines or in Palästina do not seem to concern people at all.

Do you see reasons, why there is no left consciousness of international solidarity today. How would you define the political situation in the FRG and in Western Europe today. Do you see any dangers for the future?

**Hüseyin:** I think that the solidarity movement in the late sixties forgot a very important aspect in the definition of the classic imperialism. They did not realize the immense flexibility and ability to learn which imperialism has won today. The so-called dying capitalism is not an old ill man, but still a young development which, though he objectively is in a process of dying, knows about this process and is doing anything to delay the actual moment of death as far as possible. In this fight capitalism is very dynamic. This is the situation of imperialism today. The Vietnam-movement was very strong and important concerning special proceedings in this country. Of course

it was an important supporting part of the struggle in Vietnam. What imperialism has learned from this is, that movements like that may never develop again. And they do a lot to hinder this. On the other side, and that is a question of consciousness here, the Vietnam-movement was the result of an evolution here in the FRG. One of the most essential elements for this solidarity - movement was the struggle of the poor Vietnamese people against the big, bad imperialistic yankee. Contradictions were so clear, that it was easy to take part on one side against the other. The same time the Vietnamese liberation struggle became a symbol for something people wanted themselves, to fight against injustice, but they were not able to do it themselves. This small Vietnamese people, small in everything, even physically small, they were able to stand up to imperialism this way. People simply admired them. Particularly with the post-2nd-world-war reconstruction people realized that things developed which they had always had, only in another colour. They realized, that they had been lied at and cheated.





With the struggle of the Vietnamese people they could identify themselves. But a lot in this identification had nothing to do with reality. This is one reason why this movement does not exist anymore. Utopian dreams and euphory characterized the Vietnam-movement and had nothing to do with the reality of Vietnam itself. Especially today and after 1975 Vietnam needed and needs a very strong solidarity. According to the incredible results of war under which people have still to suffer today many things do not work as they should. Of course this also has to do with mistakes which are made politically, but very much the economical and ecological situation cause the problems there today. The Vietnam solidarity-movement stopped abrupt after the USA was driven out of the country and the Vietnamese people tried to organize their daily life. I want to say some more to this 'utopian dreams': people here couldn't imagine that even the people in Vietnam are only cooking with water. Due to the distance and that people don't know very much about the concrete situation of the countries of the three

continents, they imagine that these people have some kind of magic potion. Of course there is nothing like that. We fight with those things which we have and try to build up something new with what we gain. There is no one in the three continents, who has a miracle cure. Struggles and fights in the three continents were often and are still idealized easily. Then, when people here realize, that the people there are only cooking with water, just like themselves, solidarity breaks down abruptly. If the Vietnam-solidarity-movement would have stood on realistic grounds, would have based of what is possible and what can be done, than this movement would still exist today.

The solidarity-movement for Nicaragua learned something from this. Even if it never got the extent of the solidarity-movement with Vietnam. Before revolution in Nicaragua there was only very few solidarity, who did know anything about the Sandinistas in 1978? Only very few people. Though this changed after the revolution here also were made mistakes. I don't want to say more to this point, it would go too far. Only that much, I think, the way to approach the situation of Nicaragua as if it were a social project does not fulfill the conditions of the problems at all. In the end changes have to be made in a big measure to really have influence onto the concrete situation of the people.

**Question:** Do you speak about the policy of projects in Nicaragua?

**Hüseyin:** Yes, as well, though I don't want to say that everything, what happened there was wrong. It really depends on the situation. For example the project of harvesting coffee, the coffee-brigades were a very internationalist act in such a situation, as those, who normally pick the coffee had to go to war. I think that was a very concrete act of internationalism of international solidarity. We also find it very interesting, that the European solidarity-movements always seem to occupy themselves with proceedings which happen very far away from them. The things which happen right in front of their noses are often neglected by them. I think that

has to do with the fact that internationalism and solidarity is being romanticized a lot. Papa flies to Mallorca and Fritzchen flies to Nicaragua - both is holiday. What is missing is the consciousness of the characteristic difference, that in Nicaragua the people need a concrete change, a different policy. And this lack of consciousness has a lot to do with the fact that there is no revolutionary perspective here. That is the perspective of seizure of power, to change the balance of power.

Because the political structure can only be changed when you change the balance of power. I wonder who of those people, who are enthusiastic about revolution in any part of the world, can imagine to be a minister tomorrow. And now we should try to put ourselves into the heads of Ortega, Borge or one of those, who only were part of those left groups, which were put into power under the concrete conditions there. The missing of a revolutionary perspective is one very important reason for me why there is no solidarity movement here. The missing of a local organisation which is able to formulate the own interests and to translate them into concrete revolutionary policy and action is the reason why there is no strong internationalistic movement here. This is mutually dependent.

**Question:** Do you see any dangers from the proceedings in Western Europe, for the people here and also for the people living in the three continents?

**Hüseyin:** Well there really are a lot of dangers, which we can see very clearly in the FRG. The only thing, that matters at the moment, is Germany, while the rest of the world seems to have broken down. In the situation of being bound up in themselves and of showing muscles many important things are pushed aside. And as well the local left has to offer no alternative, there is no independent information- and news-system with which the real news from all over the world could be put together and passed on to other people. Even here the left is informed very little about what happens in the world. Like the massacre, which happened lately in Palästina,

which has been the biggest massacre there, since the Intifada started - there was no reaction here. And it is the same with the actual development in Turkey. Nobody here seems to realize, that there is a people's uprising going on in Kurdistan, rising in a village one and in another place the next day. This uprising is permanently developing. I would not say that dangers might come, they are already there, I do live in these dangers. We can see a rather deep depression and lack of perspectives in the left here. A big danger is, that the left will sink in self-pity and will only lick their own wounds. Of course they can do that, and it might be quite nice for some time. But if this doesn't stop, the movement here and any perspective will be crushed forever. What will be left might be a few more cabaret artists, commending the situation with irony and caricature. The rest of the people will draw themselves back into normal life.

In the name of the three continents it is necessary to say: stop this damn self-pity! Stop licking your own wounds! Good, you have to dress your wounds but you cannot withdraw for weeks and years in some hospital and wait until they are better. It is impossible for the world to wait for such a long time, facing all the problems. Never mind how difficult the situation is for you today, never mind the lack of perspectives, one thing is very clear: Those up there, will carry out the reunification whether you are there or not. You don't play any role in this, you have got nothing to do with their interests. Those who still dream of shaping this new situation, are already lost. What we say is, that your interest and ours, those are the common interests. Our interests in the three continents are very much threatened by this big contra-revolutionary move and the situation is very dangerous for us indeed. The fights are intensified and carried out with all methods against us. People here have

to find out, what their real interests are and where their real allied partners sit.

**Question:** Though you stated your opinion more or less during what you said before, I want to ask once more what you think about the new policy of the realistic-socialist states and their consequences worldwide. What do you think will be the consequences of these proceedings for the perspectives of national liberation movements?

**Hüseyin:** Up til now various thesis have been published in different parts of the world concerning this. Like some communist parties in Latin America made an explanation to this. Our opinion is that we do not altogether reject the changes in the realistic-socialist states. We do see the necessity of changes in these states. We see the stagnation and the incredible effects of state bureaucracy, the effects of administrative socialism. We see that the opening an reorganization is necessary. At the same time we realize the incredible power of the imperialistic world-market and the effects of the encirclement of the USSR for decades. This all we see as the result of wrong policy of peaceful co-existence. Lenin's tactics of peaceful co-existence were altered by Chruschtschow and before by Stalin into a strategy of peaceful co-existence. By this the interests of the peoples in the three continents were left aside, which means the interests of the true allied partners, with whom a revolutionary roll-back could have been possible, were not considered. The necessity of permanent revolution was not considered. For these proceedings the realistic-socialist states can be blamed for as well as the outside. For this reason we say the alteration must be started now, old structures of thinking must be given up and the big chance must be used. We must sit together discuss our mistakes and which perspectives we can develop.

This is what is important today. It looks as if the policy which the Sowjetunion is pushing forward today in short- as in long terms, will be harmful for themselves and also for the other states in this region. On the other side seeing this we should not resign ourselves, as it seems to be in the FRG. To export revolutions might be meant very well but it doesn't help. We always knew that the revolution can only be the work of our own hands. That's why there is only one perspective for us: to develop our revolutionary perspective and to push it forward. In the break-down of the realistic-socialism we see a big loss but also a big win. We lost lots of good things, but also lots of bad things. And we think first of all, this is o.k. The most important thing is to learn from it and extract the positive. This means to realize that there was a wrong policy towards imperialism and bound up with this a wrong policy inside. The revolutionary perspective has to be built up anew, surely it will not be what now happens in the USSR. We have to gain from the big chances which the situation brings, we have to carry through our own models and ideas and turn them into reality. There is the big chance to develop new perspectives and we should use it. We have to be the new perspective ourselves instead of only portraying other perspectives. And we have to learn from our mistakes that we do not have to repeat them. Learning according our own concrete conditions. For me is this the most important lesson which we have to learn from this developments. That we are right with our attitude we can see with the actual development in Northwest-Kurdistan.

(Remark: We want to excuse ourselves for any mistakes or wrong formulations which you will definitely find in this translation. We hope nevertheless that you can understand, what our friend explains. We will keep on learning!)



# BLITZ

In the year of 1988 the two largest conservative/reactionary parties were sure on their matter against Blitz, but.... They are still fighting the same fight against us, but it's getting worse for them. One of their tactics have been a massive cut-down on funds, and in 88 there was nothing left. Now we're in 90 and they have achieved a "legal" resolution to tear down the house. The date haven't been set yet because they have to decide what to do with the property before they can start.

## SOME BRIEF HISTORY

In the late seventies the authorities and the cops declared war against the young population in the capital of Norway. Their target was punks, dopeheads, freaks, and other scum in the same category. The upper-class was offended by those kind of people in the inner city areas.

After weeks with harassment people felt it was time to fight back. It was arranged a large demo in the afternoon 30 april 78. All disposable troops of cops with dogs and horses were called out. The cops were defeated, at least for a while. The cops got their revenge, and started a massive repression against (what they called) unorganized youth. The cops got more money to solve "the inner city youth problem", and went to Germany and bought themselves new helmets and shields. The following years of night to the first may, demos became an orgie of teargas and mass arrests. The people discovered the strength in rebellion and the strength in unity, and that they could fight the cops.

As a result of the cops repression, UNGMOB became a fact. UNGMOB (youth against fining terror) was a clear answer to the authorities attempt to repress large groups of youngsters.

In our fight against the authorities, we have shown no compromises. Blitz have during the years achieved a massive support among the population (62% of the population was pro-Blitz in feb. 90). Blitz is "something" everyone got an opinion on, and more than 300 different organizations are with us. Then just a few words about the activities in the house today. In the cellar we have practice-rooms, and one store-room. We are also planning our own studio as well. In the first floor we have the cafe, and the "ball-room" which is used for concerts. In the second floor we have a book-cafe, a hairdressers, a dark-room, an office, a meeting-room, and a repro-room. In the third floor we have a music center for women, and our newspaper (smorsyral) has it's office there. On the attic we have the radio-station, which is the only womens radio in the world (at least as we know of).

## CAFESTROFAL

By this time UNGMOB was planning a squat (autumn 81), and the 9 oct. 81 it was a fact. Skippergt. 6A and B was squatted by several hundreds of youngsters because they wanted a self ruled youth-house. This squatting inspired youngsters in other parts of the country to do the same things. This, of course, frightened the politicians, but at the same time they were forced to take it seriously. The politicians tactics were to tire the squatters, which they also did. After one of the coldest winters in Oslo for years, peoples fighting spirit was gone. There where no more reason to fight, and people where awaiting for the politicians temporary

Cafestrofal (c.s.) Storgt. 36 was squatted by the union of unemployed workers mid april 84. The union had it's place here until it stopped existing during the winter of 86/87. The union ran a cafe, and had it's administrative offices here.

The activity of the union was linked with the labor movement, a co-operation intended to radicalize the movement, and support the ground labor struggle, which it did. The union supported strikes, formed picket-lines, and had support-actions. When the unemployment declined in 86, the union went downwards, as the need for such an organization became smaller. The cafe maintained, as did the service for social security clients.

solution on flats- and youthhouse- problems.

In 82 the city-council decided to give the youth a house of their own, but on certain conditions. One were supposed to share the house with other groups as well. People thought it was a bit suspicious to rent a house from the local authorities and also receive funds from the state. So you can imagine that it was quite a difficult start for Blitz. From now on there was lots of work to do and we discovered that the rent-deal gave us the time to build up the house from the inside on our own terms.

The politicians didn't expect that people would manage to raise again after Skippergata and then suddenly none of them were willing to take any responsibility, when Blitz managed to obtain a night to first of may demo in 82. The house was used for a concert, as a cafe, firstaid-station and for juridical help. Lots of people were arrested, but the house proved itself to be a good center. The following years the politicians and the pigs tried to get rid of the house and the people who ran/used it. In '83 Blitz was raided with teargas. People stuck together and they didn't give up the struggle. The authorities tactics on tire people seem to have no limits. Every year they try new methods and reasons why the house should be emptied and torn down. During all these years there have been different demo's and actions (we'll bring you more of specific matters later).

Early 87 the union of homeless people took over the premises. C.S. then became the basis of the housing struggle. Three big squats were planned and arranged from C.S. in the name of the union. The union also buildt up a lot of pressure against the municipal direction, and their housing policy, uncovering several misschemes, and thus made way for the radical criticism and investigation against the corruption of the political leadership.

The union of homeless came on really strong in the first half of 87, with continuous actions and outspoken criticism against the direction policy. The union did, however go down after an internal crisis in the end of the summer, in spite of it's massive support among the homeless, and it's political appeal.

The failure of the union was a tragedy for the homeless, for whom it was something like last hope and result. The cafe proved to be the longest lasting basis of activity at C.S. It kept open until the last days before the eviction. The last two years of it's history, C.S. was runned by, besides the cafe, hardcore-house (which ran a practise room for bands and arranged hardcore gigs and parties), a group of inhabitants, 12 in all, who moved in early 88.

At the time of the eviction C.S. had barely any organized support or defence system. When the cops came, it fell like an over-ripen fruit.

The tragic end of C.S. is still nagging us all.



## EEC AND NORWAY

The question about EEC membership for Norway lost the ballot in 1972 with a few votes. Since the start Norwegian authorities have worked together with the London-commission and TREVI. Officially Norway has not been an associated member of TREVI before 1988. Bøsterud, the head of the justice-department said that it was important for Norway to build up its antiterrorpolice (there has been one single terroraction in Norway, in 1974 done by the Mossad). There have been Norwegian representatives from the securitypolice at TREVI-meetings since the beginning. The authorities did not expect to lose the EEC-election in 1972, which has meant that they are holding back info about the EEC and TREVI. In the last years the authorities have tried to get Norway in through the backdoor to the EEC. Clear facts show that agriculture will be destroyed in the EEC's attempt too effectivity. Growing centralization will give bigger pollution problems. The countryside will die out, at the same time the authorities plan building more motorways and an extended use of cars. In Norway, where the labour union has been quite strong, the authorities will use the EEC to cut down the workers wage level. EEC does not want marking of ecologically safe products and recycling of paper.



## EFTA:

EFTA was meant to be an alternative to the EEC. But it has shown that EFTA just is the backdoor to the EEC. The authorities try to break the resistance against EEC by adjusting the country to EEC politics, so the difference between EEC and EFTA gets as minimal as possible. Alternative resistance gets a lot more difficult and is based on single issues.

The EEC adjustment has resulted in a very strict state-racism in Norway during the last 20 years (look state-racism). New and stricter immigration laws for third world refugees are now being discussed by the government. The EEC adjustment has also resulted in big fusions between companies, factories and banks. Something which again has resulted in workers getting fired and the loss of jobs. The three largest parties in Norway are pro-EEC so Norway will be an member of EEC in 1992. It is important for us to give people lots of info about EEC. About what EEC really is.

## The right-wing movement

In 1973 two political groups on the extreme right were founded: **Anders Lange Party** and the **National Front**. They were the start of the new wave of facism and nazism in Norway. After Anders Lange died, some people reorganized it and it developed into a more populist reactionary party, **The Progress Party**. The Progress Party is very popular in Norway. It is now the leading party of facist/ racist ideas. In 1989 we had a national ballot and the extreme naziparty **SI** (Stop immigration) became a legal party and was nominated for election, with the support of 3000 people.

**FMI** (the peoples union against immigration) consists of former nazis, and they had a lot of support from ignorant young people. The organization experienced a major setback when their leader was arrested for planning a bomb-attack against an immigration office. They found weapons, dynamite and a plan for the bombattack at his home, but he was not accused for his nazipropaganda. After this, FMI has lost a lot of support, and many people have joined another extremist nazi group who call themselves **Zorn 88** (88 stands for Heil Hitler).

**Zorn 88** also collects their members from the former **National Front**, **Boot Boys** (a small group of nazi-skins), and the **National Democratic Union**, which largely consists of former **SI** members. They have 200 registered members and distribute their own newspaper, which is called "Gjallarhorn", in 1200 copies. **Zorn 88** has already established contact with nazipigs from Denmark and Sweden, and probably other countries. **Zorn 88** wants to instigate a violent fight for nazi ideals, against coloured people, anti rasists and leftist's in general, **Blitz** especially. The right-wing movement, with the newly formed **NDU** in the lead, has recently been working up a media offensive to make their dirty ideals known to the general public. Knowing the narrow-mindedness and semi-fascist state of mind which is latent in a lot of norwegians, anti-racists see it as an important task to stop them.

Anti-imperialist activity have had a steady growing in strength in the political struggle and resistance in Norway the last 20 years. Today, the activists of solidarity organizations like, the common council for Southern Africa (FSA), the Latin-American Groups (LAG) etc. see it as naturally and necessary to oppose the imperialist structures. The Revolutionary Communist Party - **AKP ml** - has also had anti-imperialism on its programme throughout its entire existence. Their newspaper, **Klassekampen** (Class Struggle), is the powerful, informative radical paper in Norway today. **Klassekampen's** role in the mobilization is of great significance.

The youth activation has become more and more important for the mobilization the last 10 years. There are two continuous actions still going on, which have turned thousands and thousands of young norwegians on to anti-imperialist thinking and acting. These are the anti-apartheid-action (AAA), and the environmental struggle of the youth, represented with the mass organization "Nature and Youth" (NU) and the professional activists of **BELLONA**. The successful actions against the distribution of South-African goods in Oslo in 1984, mobilized even more people to the further actions against the profiteers, politicians and the pure essence of apartheid. The turning point for the anti-imperialism as a political challenge came with Maggie Thatcher's visit to Oslo in the fall of 86. Then, 1200 people, rushed into the castle of Akershus, where the elite was gathered for a pompous dinner party. The police panicked and forced the people out of the castle by all means. Several people were seriously injured and hurt. After this incident anti-imperialism has become a threat taken serious by the police and those in charge. A nother importante, still not so effective, runway to anti-imperialist thinking, is that anti-militarists activists against nuclear weapons etc. Together with those intersted in Latinamerican people's struggles against Washingtons imperialism, they have formed the basis of the action against NATO, (A.N.A.). A.N.A. have had several blockades against the NATO-station at Kolsås, right outside Oslo, and also regular demonstrations against the American embassy, the best known in may of 87, when Raygun's minister of defence, Weinburger, bothered Oslo with his appearance. The LAG is also quite active on the public information line, by having stands for information in the centre of town at least one time a week. LAG also arranges solidarity labour brigades to Nicaragua and Cuba for instance. Quite a bunch of **Blitz** people have been participating in such brigades. **Blitz** has had an increasing importance for the anti-imperialist struggle of Oslo the last 6-7 years. Ever since people from **Blitz** organized the permanent anti-apartheid-actions (AAA) the ball has been rolling. The engagement can be divided into different sections like: The Anti-NATO Actions; background in LAG and CND (nuclear disarmament). Demonstrations and actions. The majority of Norwegian people supports NATO.

The Palestinian struggle, **Blitz** as a whole has "adopted" the Palestinian people's struggle for their rights. This struggle engages and interests about anyone, on different levels. **Blitz** is one main force for the palestine struggle in Norway today. The Palestine Comittee (PalCom) seems to have accepted this, and participating in the solidarityactions arranged by **Blitz**, and is even from time to time, co-operating with us. Solidarity with **FMLN/FSLN**, **Blitz** on Nicaragua, and El Salvador is clear; We support the fighting, revolutionary groups, with roots in the peoples life and struggles. **FSLN** of Nicaragua and **FMLN** of El Salvador has, to us, proved themselves to be genuinely popular organizations with the sympathy and support of the oppressed masses, the workers and the peasants we support **FMLN** with active information through paper and our bulletins, and gather money for weapons for **FMLN**. When the sandinistas was in charge of the political development in Nicaragua we thought it was right to take part in the labour brigades. The new situation calls for a new strategy, which will be discussed.

Russian Imperialism - Under the facade of so-called "socialism", the Soviet-Union has never been anything else then a Russian Empire, sucking on the labour of the sub-russian nations. The empire of "socialist" Russia is even more effective than the old tsarist empire. **Blitz** has always been against the barbarism, poorly disguised as "socialism". Now a days, we see the empire is crumbling, its structures worn out, and its slaves getting fed up with it all. It's getting clear that the slavery will soon come to an end, and the peoples uprising is just around the corner (?). Not even the joint effort of "superheroes" Bush and Gorbie will prevent this. **Blitz** supports the peoples uprising against the





unjust system, though they will face another great challenge: the rabiate nationalism growing in these times of confusion and despair. Blitz continues to make friends and contacts in eastern Europe, and will try to stabilize a political dialogue and cultural transmission with our friends in the east. It's important to reach all radical-minded people in eastern Europe, and "help them out" in their difficult struggle against a perverted system, and a growing nationalism.

The future struggle of anti-imperialists will have to be more orientated on hitting the political and economic structures of imperialism. Our task will be to weaken the enemy so as our allies, the fighting people in the third world, will be able to defeat'em. We, the information workers have a big responsibility. We have to provide our comrades with all possible/impossible information about the enemy's political and economic structures. We have to point out the weakness in the system, so as our fighting can hit where it hurts.

Recently, an actiongroup on the right to political asylum, against the racist policy of the state has been founded. Among different groups of political refugees in norwegian exile, Blitz is actively into the foundation, and planning actions to take place against the state immigration control system. See also "Racism". More news about this will appear in forthcoming bulletins. See also leaflet.

DEFEND THE RIGHT TO POLITICAL ASYLUM !



#### STATE-RACISM

In Norway's constitution of 1814, jews were not allowed to enter the country. In the year of 1927, gypsies, jews, and other non-white foreigners were subject to the same treatment. It was first in 56 that a new law was made, part of this law still remains today. This law was made because of a clear need for labour as norwegian industry was increasing. Even in the early seventies it was considered as quite a liberal law.

In the mid-seventies the crisis came, and as the unemployment rose as well as housing problems. The use of cheap labour was now increasing, and therefore the capitalists encouraged the growth of racism. The restrictive Immigration laws, literally forbidding immigration, were passed in 75. This caused a big revolt amongst people. As a answer the authorities assured people that this law was only to last one year, and that this would improve the situation for the refugees already in the country. But the law is still in use.

#### WOMEN

In many ways, women experience the worst discrimination. Few women are allowed into the country as refugees or seeking work. But most of them on the basis of family reunions.

1. Wives of students are not allowed to work fulltime, but are allowed to share their husbands work-permit or borrow it from him.
2. Students or others without a permanent work/stay-permit are not entitled to family reunions.
3. If a woman is allowed to stay in Norway because of her family-ties, she is fully dependant on her husband economy. If the man is forced to rely on dole or unemployment benefits, the woman is denied a staying permit, even if he has been here for more than ten years.
4. Women have to stay married for three years to maintain her right to stay in the country. Not living together can be a reason to send the women out of the country, but after three years she may stay on an individual basis.
5. If the family are in need of social-security aid the woman will be sent "home".
6. If the woman, on the other hand, is the one who is earning the money, her staying permit may be revoked.

NO REFUGEES BACK TO IRAN - DIRECT OR INDIRECT  
DEFEND THE RIGHT TO POLITICAL ASYLUM !

Following great protests in 1985, norwegian officials had to accept the fact that Turkey was no safe country for iranian refugees. They were forced by the public opinion to take back four iranians, whom had been sent out of Norway. The last five years have shown no improvement of the situation in Iran and Turkey.

The Iranian Islamic Republic have from it's first day in charge preserved and strengthened the unjust system it inherited from the regime of the shah. The population is being robbed of its basic democratic and social rights, through the barbaric and most brutal methods of the islamic rule. Even the tiniest protests drown in blood. Violations of the human rights go on all the time in numbers unimaginable.

Until now, more than 100.000 is imprisoned, and ten-thousands are killed by the state. In 1988 a new wave of executions of political prisoners started off. Several secret mass graves have been found, since the corpses were buried under so thin a layer that the dogs dug them up. Outside the prisons the rows of relatives, waiting to receive the private left-overs after the executed, were growing to endless lengths.

Recently there have been big spontaneous demonstrations in several big cities, being met by the truncheon of the state, followed by more harresment, more arrests and executions. This is the reason why people flee the country.

Many refugees make their escape through Turkey, a neighbouring country under fascist, military rule, well known for it's systematic violations of human rights, and it's extreme oppression of the opposition and the kurdic people. In this "safe, democratic" country, the turkish army have attacked kurdic resistance with chemical weapons as recent as two weeks ago. Many were also killed in a gas attack against Mardin 17. mars. The burial of one of the deceased gathered thousands of kurdish, and they were attacked by turkish army. Two children were killed. Tanks were put in against the protests of the people, and it's now a curfew in many cities in northern Kurdistan. 21. mars a kurdic girl burned herself to death as a protest against the treatment of her people.

This is the country norwegian government claims safe for iranian refugees, even if they know what's happening there, that Turkey preserves the good relations with Iran by turning iranian refugees back to imprisonment and execution.

In july '88 turkish papers brought reports about the handing-over of 60 iranian refugees to officials iq Osalp, on the iranian border. Iran paid Turkey 700 U.S.\$ pr.pers., and they were all executed on the spot.

This policy continues unchanged, and iranian refugees in the U.N. camps in Turkey live in constant danger of being evicted or kidnapped. Those outside the camps may at any time get arrested by turkish police and handed over to Iran, if they don't make it to another country.

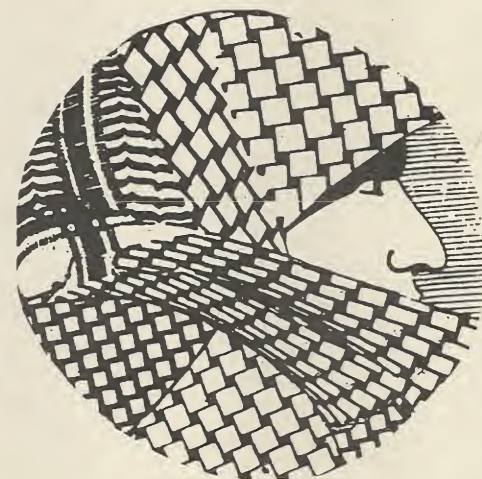
Reports from Denmark tells a grim story about an iranian evicted from Denmark, who ended his life at the hands of iranian police. None of this information has brought consequences for the decisions of norwegian officials, who openly confess their ignorance on what's happening to the refugees sent back to Turkey or Iran. Now they've started an/offensive to evict iranian refugees as soon as possible, within a day or two after arrival.

This is how norwegian government defend the human rights and the right to political asylum.

We despise this policy, and demand an immediate end to it.  
NO IRANIAN REFUGEES BACK TO IRAN OR TURKEY!

This protest is supported by the following groups:

- The Solidarity Committee for Iran
- The Solidarity Committee for the Kunders
- The Latin-America Groups in Norway
- International Socialists
- BLITZ
- The Chile-group Sol y Luna
- The Kurdic Democratic Workers Union
- The Kurdic Federation
- Red Youth
- a group of iranians in Norway





## Immigration politics

To be accepted as a political refugee in Norway, you have to fulfill the following demands:

1. To have been involved in political activities, for example to have been a member of a forbidden political party. To have been involved in "violent" protests makes you an unwanted person.
2. Persecuted because of no.1
3. Persecuted as an individual.
4. Seriously persecuted; tortured or risking long prison sentences.

The general practice is to send refugees back to the first country they arrived in after fleeing from their own country, to then apply for asylum there. In the last few months, the norwegian authorities have started practicing so called "quick denials", which means denying applications in under 24 hrs. The refugee is then sent back to the "first country" they arrived in. Although all refugees are legally entitled to a lawyer, it is not unusual for the police to refuse them this right, or "forget" to. In 1987-88, lawyers working with immigration cases, made an inquiry that showed that 60% of political refugees were sent out of the country without having received legal aid. The police insisted that they "hadn't wanted help". If you are denied asylum, you can go to court, but do not receive free legal aid.

In the process of applying for asylum, all refugees must undergo police interrogation. The police often threaten to check information in the refugee's homeland if they don't "tell the truth". Only 50-60% of the political refugees are allowed to stay in Norway while their application for asylum is being reviewed. The former minister of justice, passed a new law in 1988/89, stating that refugees who had been living in Norway for more than 15 months without receiving an answer to their application, would automatically be allowed to stay. Needless to say, the police and the authorities do their best to undermine this law by stamping the denial of asylum to a date before the 15 months were past (even after several years). Refugees are often held in detention while their applications are being looked at to prevent them from going into hiding in the case of a denial.

In january 1989, a refugee from Gambia died in an isolation cell in a norwegian prison. He had been in Norway since 1987, and after receiving a denial he was put in prison. Although he became seriously ill, it took a week before he was sent to hospital. He was given medication and sent back into isolation. The next morning he was found dead.



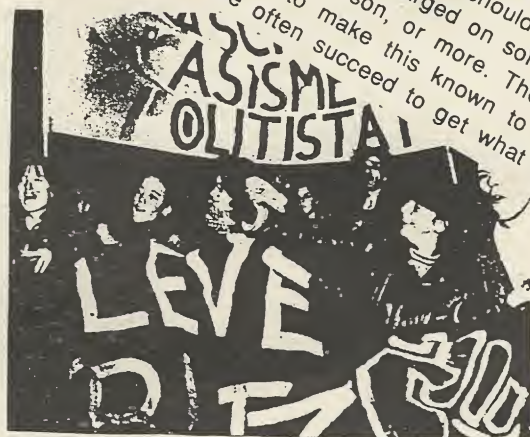
POLITICAL REPRESSION IN NORWAY

### BERUFSVERBOT

The most ordinary form of repression, which people has been confronted with since the 1920's is "berufsverbot", which means that people get a lot of pressure against them, so they lose their job and that they will have big difficulties finding a new job. Especially organised communists (The communist working party (marxist-leninists) and the Norwegian communist party) has been attacked with this kind of repression. Several times it's been revealed how big companies has been doing a lot of political surveillance on their employees, to find out if they have "communist sympathies". For example people who has been exposed in the media as spokesmen for the feminist-movement and the squat in Skippergata in 81, has lost their job because of their activities.

### SURVEILLANCE

One of the reasons why "berufsverbot" is functioning that good in Norway, is the systematic surveillance against people from the left (telephone-tapping, photographs/video-recordings at demonstrations, registrations at the social centre and so on). The close connections between the military service, the state security police and the and the private political surveillance done by the social-democrats after the war, has been effective against the opposition in the trade-unions (f.ex. communists don't get high positions).



In 1987 the police started using video for registration of demonstrators. At the knowledge of this, people began to wear balaclavas and other kinds of masques. The cops also put pressure on "new" activists arrested during political manifestations, to get their fingerprints. The fact is, a lot of these "new" activists don't know their right to refuse. The law states that none should have to give their fingerprints, unless they're charged on some serious crime, that may give six months in prison, or more. The info-group at Blitz is continuously working to make this known to all activists in town. Still, the police often succeed to get what they want.

### FINES AND BEATINGS

Police strategy against political activism have usually been, and still is, fines. Through the eighties the price for activism has increased rapidly, proportionally with the rise of the resistance. This strategy has failed to brake the developing resistance, since most activists rather go to jail than pay their fines. Actions against the fine harassment have also taken place, raising funds for legal aid to the fined. Since 86(Thatcher-demo) the fineing strategy have been supplied with the propaganda of fear. This being put to action through brutal violence against demonstrators and custody for activists. The courts are extremely loyal towards the police, and will on their request put people away for 2-4 weeks on obviously trumped-up charges, or simply nothing at all. The loyal judges will always make up some lame excuse for locking people up, f.ex. danger of spilling proof, attempt to dodge lawful prosecution etc. When activists are pulled in front of the court, the doors are closed to the public and the press, so as to prevent attention to the unjust treatment of these cases. Earlier the cops tactic was arresting as many as possible and fineing them. Today they usually just pick a few, and set them up for harsh punishment. Police violence in demonstrations is meant to hurt and damage people, so as to scare them off the habit of political action.

### THE ANTI-TERROR SQUAD

The squad was formed in 1975. The government feared the wave of urban guerilla actions would hit Norway. It was at least their excuse for the founding of this para-military police force, which have been the main weapon against political activism the last 15 years.

The squad is highly trained experts in all sorts of combat techniques, and at daytime they serve as "ordinary" policemen, with the order detail. Inside this detail, the close co-operation with the terror squad has resulted in a growing culture of violence and macho attitude. During demonstrations they go to action with a "let's break some skull"-attitude which is really frightening. The squad is also being put in against squatted houses, and gangs of "criminal" youth.

### DIRECT ACTIONS AND REPRESSION AGAINST OUR SCENE

Bombings and other heavy actions have usually been pulled by right-wing extremists. The only *tat* done by leftists was a fire-bomb action against a Shell-station in 1987. This action, however, was never proved to be pulled by leftists, in fact the people behind the action was never found. The police, nevertheless, used the action as excuse for increasing their surveillance and persecution of leftist activists. Violent right-wing action is still going on, but the left-wing still has priority no.1 to the police.





In 1987 a lot of direct actions were taking place in Oslo. The actions kicked against Shell-stations, fur shops, vivisection laboratories, embassys, police property and institutions of the state. The police reacted with a lot of razzias against the collectives, as well as Blitz (through the years Blitz has totally been raided 5-6 times) and CafeStrofal.

In 1987 one of the fastest trials in the juridical history of Norway took place. 7 people were arrested after they had smashed the american embassy and a police car with bricks and paint bombs. They were 10 days in isolation and the trial was on the eleventh day. It ended up with one month of jail for 6 of them.

A lot of people has also been in jail for violence against the police, for actions against the south-african consulate and so on. In the 1930's a person was convicted with the "incitement-paragraph", for agitating against the military service. This person was a well-known labour activist. And so the conviction was also an attack towards the working class. This experience did not stop him from passing repressive laws against leftist activism when he later become prime minister of norway.

In the middle of the eighties a group of anti-militarist were accused with the same paragraph. In 1987 a person (which has been politically active for over 10 years and who has been a spokesman for Blitz) was arrested after there had been two demonstrations in the last 3 days against the american defence-minister Casper Weinbergers visit to Oslo. He was isolated in custody for 4 weeks and was later accused with the "incitement-paragraph". During the demonstration he held a megaphone when the cops attacked,s and told people to stick together. The following day Norways most conservative newspaper's,

"Aftenposten", had pictures of this person and the headline told he was "leading" the demonstration, when the fighting started between the police and the demonstrators. After that headline he's been politically prosecuted both by the police and the media. When there is a demonstration and the press writes about it, they always have a picture of him saying he was in the demonstration. When the police attacks a demonstration he's usually among the



first to get arrested. A lot of people see s him as some kind of leader/boss at Blitz, and they have problems to understand our horisontal collective structure.

During the Weinberger demonstrations it was a curfew in the center of Oslo. People who looked like "Blitzers" was arrested all over town, and the cops raided a bourgeoise cafe to arrest the "instigator", as he was drinking coffee and talking to the press. The whole place was smashed, and the cops thereby made a terrible mistake. It's ok raiding Blitz, or any squatted house, where no press or "straight" people witnesses the pandemonium. To raid a bourgeoise place in broad daylight, right in the faces of the press, is not very smart. The newspapers then had it's scandal, and the incident was on all the front pages the following day. The chief of the police, Willy "what, me worry?" Haugli tried to pooh-pooh the incident in his usual manner, without success. One week later ca.10.000 people marched the streets of oslo, protesting the police brutality and repression, the largest illegal demonstration seen in norway since 1945.

#### SOLIDARITY WITH THE IMPRISONED

Norway has never had any "hard-core" groups of activists like R:A:F: or the 2nd June Movement, and there are no political prisoners of the kind in norwegian jails. There have been demonstrations and actions in solidarity with imprisoned Blitz'ers and other activists. Last summer we also arranged a concert outside the local jail, where some of our comrades were spending their time. Blitz have also gone actively into actions against the new prison laws, passed on in 89, robbing the prisoners of all dignity and rights, cutting them off from the outside world, increasing the internal control and preserving an unjust system of rewarding those loyal to the system, and spanking the rebels. This law has been met with massive protests and resistance outside as well as inside the jails. Bands from Blitz have also played gigs inside prisons to cheer up the prisoners, and our paper, Smørsyra, co-operates with the prisoners' magazines on covering the fight against the new law. Norway's best-known political prisoner is Arne Treholt, a former politician from the social-democratic labour party. Treholt got 21 years in jail, on a trumped-up spy charge. It's today quite obvious that Treholt never were the spy the police claimed him to be. It's more likely he was victimized to save the asses of the State security police, which had hard times justifying their existence. Trough the time of his custody and trial, Treholt became the object of the most aggressive and lasting media persecution ever seen in norway. For 2(!) years the harassment against Treholt, his family and his friends, those of them that stood by him, that is, continued. The media persecution was beyond doubt of vital importance to the security police, and is a horrifying example of trial by media. Treholt has been extremely isolated during his custody, the strange process against him, and his imprisonment thereafter. During his time spent at Ullelsåmo State Prison, Treholt was elected spokes-man of his fellow prisoners. Quickly thereafter he was transferred to the state prison of Ila, where he is still sitting. Since his arrest, he hasn't been allowed one single leave.



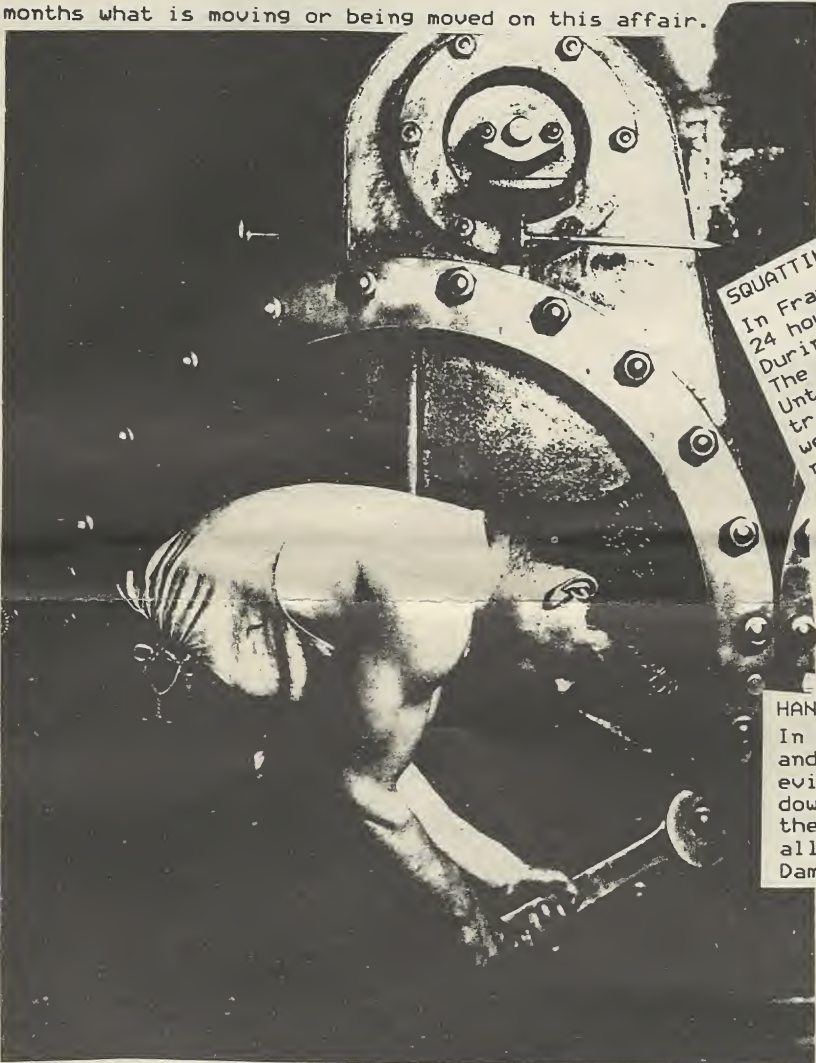
## INTERNATIONAL DAY OF ACTION AGAINST SHELL

Since several months the shell campaign has taken up also in the FRG (the brochure "kill a multi" too). Until now the discussion and activities obviously were reduced to be in West-Berlin and a few other cities. From there also came the most inspiration for the discussion in this region. As now the 28.4.90 was proclaimed as the international day of action against Shell, some autonomous groups of the Rhein-Main-Region decided to take part into this day. Nevertheless there was the condition that the time of preparing was quite short (2-3 weeks). Therefore there is the critic, it could be a dayfly.

During the preparation it was cleared up, that the parole "kill a multi" is taken up as a fundamental element of the campaign. Not only the solidarity-working with the fighting people of South Africa (which comes out in the parole "Shell out of SA") is at stake, but the significance of Shell at all: Shell as an international multi in SA and Europe the accomplice of apartheid and gentechology.

For this day of action it was considered to organize a bicycle demonstration that should block the accesses of three selected filling-stations of Shell for a while. This aim was achieved by nearly 100 good mooded people and with leaflets, stickers, sprayings and political manifestations (not to forget, that Shell gave the motto for this day to tolerate peaceful actions against them).

At the moment there is the mood to take up the campaign with continuous discussions and work, but without jumping on a new main point. We cannot say in which way the participation on the campaign will look like, which actions and discussions will be developed etc. We will see the following months what is moving or being moved on this affair.



**SQUATTINGS AND A DEMONSTRATION OF TENANTS IN MAY IN FRANKFURT**  
In Frankfurt we have the condition that all squatted houses are evicted by 24 hours after the squatting. During the last months there have been a few attempts to squatt houses. The last one at 30.th of April in Allerheiligenstr. Until now only some few initiatives refer to the struggles in other countries (f.e. in Denmark, Netherlands, Norway,...) and to the coordination of west-european governments against them. It's necessary to bring the international discussion about European struggle for squatted houses and centers into.  
Another fact is the increasing bad situation concerning flats in the cities. At the 19th of May there was a demonstration of tenants for payable housing for all of the people. 1500 people were on the street. In the proclamation paper it was said that the situation of tenants for payable housing the economic development of the EC.  
At the demonstration was shown a lot of solidarity with the squatting of empty houses on transparents, in the demands and in the speeches.

### HANAU

In Hanau, a city in the area of Rhein-Main, there is a squatted political and cultural center of autonomous groups since 1986 which is now threatened by eviction. The squatters are making pressure against the decision to tear down the house. They are going into the city-councils and break them up, they are trying to expose the activities of the municipal and to build up alliances of solidarity. Damages and slogans appear in the city.

### DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE REUNIFICATION AT 12th of MAY IN FRANKFURT

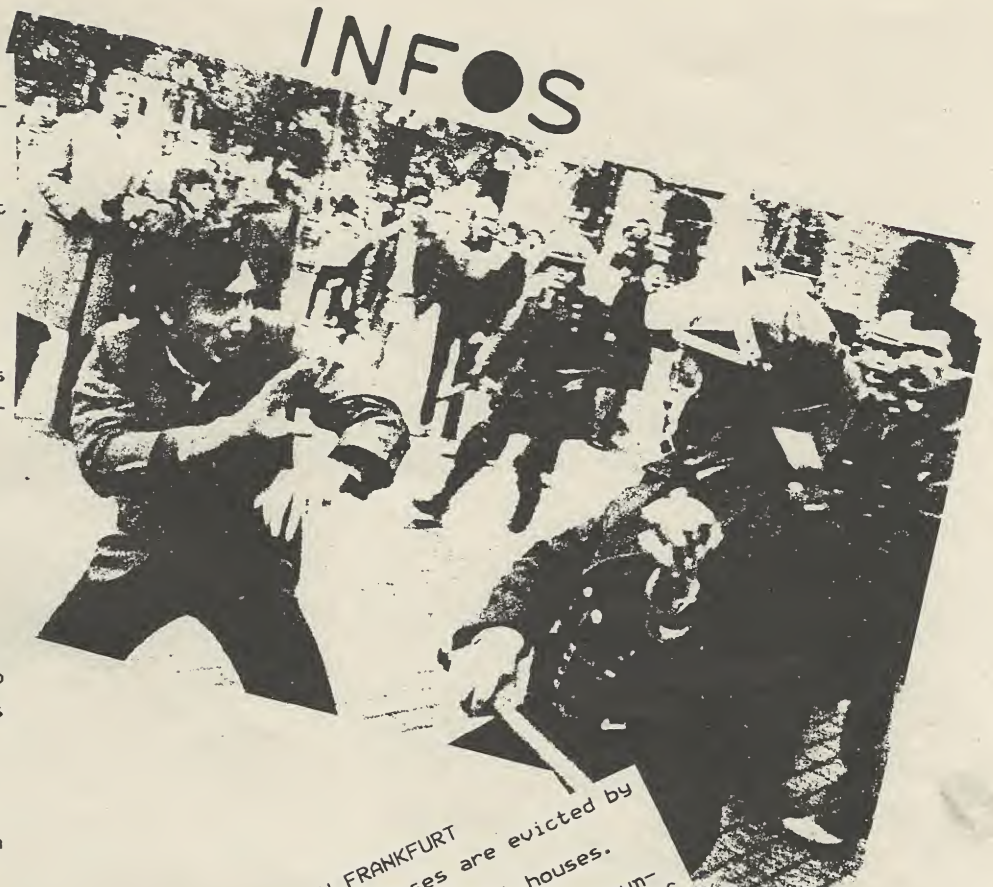
at the 12th of May, in Frankfurt a national demonstration against the reunification took place. the demonstration was organized by a broad alliance of left-wing and antifascist groups and organizations. between 15.000 and 20.000 people took part at it.

there was an internationalist block (revolutionary left) within the demonstration and there the cops always provoked, made "lines" and attacked people with their sticks. partly the line could be held on distance.

during the final manifestation at the "römer" (a large square in the center of Frankfurt) there were some militant confrontations because of provocations from the cops. at first, the cops could be pushed back by stones etc. but later they came at the square with 3 water cannons and many cops. they threatened to clear up the square but nearly nobody left it, even as the cops attacked people with their water cannons and sticks. again and again people made chains and moved into the direction of the cops. at least, the cops left the square and the manifestation could go further.

the government of FRG is really very sensitive about opposition against the reunification of FRG and GDR. the attack against the demonstration and manifestation shows that and also it shows that the repression against the left in FRG is getting harder.

(some words about the "lines": during the last years in FRG and especially in Frankfurt, the cops make lines at nearly each demonstration they make a line at both sides and sometimes also in the front of a demonstration, so that it is nearly impossible for us to impart our aims to other people.)





## JAIL/ ASSEMBLAGE

since several weeks some groups prepare a second "knastbeben" for the date of june/july. the "knastbeben" is a several hours lasting political manifestation also with live music in front of the jail. the discussion between the groups should lead into the support of the support of the struggles in jails. another point is to work out what the struggle for "zusammenlegung" has to do with the other struggles in jail for improving the conditions of custody there will be more to say about if the discussions went further.

## INFOS

### SOLIDARITY WITH THE HUNGERSTRIKE OF THE PRISONERS OF GRAPO AND PCE(r)

\* after the death of manuel sevillano martin was known in public, 30 people have made a manifestation in frankfurt in the morning of the next day. they went in front of the spanish establishment of trade, locked the door with chains from outside and rested in front of the door. the cops arrested all and maltreated them during the so-called "criminal-identification treatment" (the pigs want to take fingerprints and pictures).

\* in the "Hertie" in wiesbaden, a big store (member of a chaine of department stores), there was put an fire-raising. the action was made against a propaganda-show, which was made by the BKA (federal criminal investigation department), the LKA (the same shit, but only responsible for one of the different regions of FRG) and the local police at "Hertie". (the fire-raising was done in a way on which it was sure, that no visitors could be in the store when it begins to functionate).

in her declaration the group put her action also in relationship with the hungerstrike of the prisoners in spain.

"last week, they have murdered one the prisoners in hungerstrike by means of their refusal. with the knowledge about the escalated situation for all prisoners, with our rage and sorrow for the spanish comrad, we are doing this action!

at the same time she is a step of us in the struggle for a strong, revolutionary relation of power and today with the concrete aim of blocking the cop-propaganda-show.

it's our experience that we need the organization of militant attack on the structures of power if we want to push through own aims. she is part within the development of a revolutionary movement. revolutionary movement means the decision of everyone, no matter at which point one is fighting or with which means, really to fight for the entire radical change of the social relations. in this proces we need us mutual with all experiences, ideas and practice on the different levels of the fight.

REASSEMBLING OF THE PRISONERS IN SPAIN

ASSEMBLING OF THE PRISONERS OF RAF AND RESISTANCE AND ALL PRISONERS WHO ARE FIGHTING FOR THAT

NO EVICTION OF SQUATTED HOUSES - HAFENSTR. RESTS FIGHTING TOGETHER "

### MÜNCHEN:

at the 1st of may 90 there was a demonstration of ca. 50-60 turkish people in front of the turkish consulate-general against the action of the turkish police in istambul. on this occasion there was shot live out of the entrance and the first floor. the demonstrators were chased down the street by turkish security agents. nuri g. got seriously wounded at the upper arm by fragmentation ammunition. he had to be operated several times. the investigations by the police began not until after three days later. the consulate declared, that it had been an emergency-situation. they talked about an attempt with a molotow-cocktail, but they didn't find any piece of broken glass.

the report of investigation says that the shot was "very responsitiv" and he is a member of the consulate-staff. he is under diplomatic privilege, that means he will not be prosecuted.

there was shot live out of the turkish consulate already in autumn 79. at this time one of the members of consulate chased two turkish persons, who wanted to hang up a poster for the boycott of votes. he had a drawn 9mm pistol and fired off 7-8 straight shoots. one outsidied passer-by got wounded. the shot was transfered to rom, the two turkish persons were expatriated. their application of asylum was accepted not before 6 years afterwards.

### "PURSETRIAL"

Since the 16.th of february in francfort a political trial against 4 comrades (siggi, gaby, sven and stefan) takes place. the 4 comrades are accused to have attacked the purse in francfort with "molotov-cocktails" at the 71.th day of the hungerstrike of the political and fighting prisoners in 1989. at this day, the purse could only open with delay.

the trial now comes near to its end.

### CRIMINILISATION OF THE PEOPLE WORKING TO THE "PURSETRIAL"

at the 27th of march, 1990, the "zentrum", a center for several auto-nomic groups, has been searched by the police.

the "zentrum" is the postadress of process-info "Kein Frieden mit den Banken" (no peace with the bancs). at the same time, Stoltzestr.11 a house which is inhabited by es-squatters, was searched too.

in this house, the process-cafe of the trial against siggi, sven, gaby and stefan takes place. the cops came with the pretext of looking for a stolen franking-machine.

the maintaining that the reason for the search are thieving-proceedings is contrary to the fact, that "zentrum" and stoltzestr. 11 were searched bei the political police and bka (Bundeskriminalamt= federal criminal police)

and that they took only political magazines and papers with them. this investigation and search run against the mobilisation against the "pursetrial" and what is developping around it.

### FRANCE

In the beginning of may, a three months before squatted house was evicted. in Lyon.

Also in the beginning of may, two squatted houses in paris were evicted. (until now there can be more). There are over 100 squatted houses in Paris. Most of them are not political centers but there are living people who have no flats and simply go in empty houses and live there. The two now evicted houses were the largest ones, in one of them lived over 300 people, the half of them are childrens. The solidarity with these arab families in the district was very strong, clothes, food etc. was brought at once. People in Paris think that this two evictions are only the beginning for of an eviction-wave.





since 1987 the demonstrations against the opernball became to riots. for 1990 until now no common assessment of the opernballdemo does exist in vienna. because of this we can only report about the "after-effects", preventive detention and trials.

30 persons got arrested at the demo. two of them were commit for trial.

mathias was released at 6.3., at the review of detention. his trial didn't start until now.

georg got arrested in the surroundings of a billa-supermarket that was plundered during the riots. he was kept under preventive detention until 11th of may. the first day of trial was the 25th of april, it was adjurned.

there are some other trials because of opernballdemo going on, but all of it were adjurned until now.

#### SQUATTING-DECLARATION

today, on 15th of march we squatted the bureau of investigating judge m. novak. we comprehended this action of solidarity as work for getting publicity, to call attention to the situation of the imprisoned georg.

we demand a permission of visit immediatly and for all!

nowak rejects to give the permission of visit to friends and relatives since three weeks. when we tried to get a permission novak's substitute told us that georg wouldn't get any visit because he does refuse to testify. under the cover of "danger of conspiracy" in reality coercive detention is imposed.

georg is in prison vicarious for all of us, who are going into the streets to protest against social injustice. it should be shown, that all of us can be treated this way. arbitrary arrest, prison under stifened, isolated conditions. but it's wrong to think that one can get further with "beeing nice" and keeping silent. and they will not be able to browbeat us!

it isn't chance that just georg, out of the antifashist scene, is kept in custody. it's also shown by the fact, that the fashists who were seized at the demo were released at once. fashists and cops coordinated as well before th demo as during the demo. they co-operate in the matter of combat struggles against revolutionary, left-wing resistance at all times.

this co-operation is nothing new. but in this quality the alliance must be seen in context with the internal crises (corruption, unemployment, debate about federal armed forces, ai-report, stapo-snooping (secret state police), lucona, noricum...), with the new asylum-legislation, with the new law of police authorities; shortly: with all of the general changes, and the new distribution of political powers.

the faschos at the demo answer it's purpose for imperialism as well as the reps and skins at the monday-demos in the DDR. struggle alliances

between fashos and cops are traditional all over the world. they show how war against the sweared class is waged, and that this is the only possibility to wage this war.

the war is continued at court and in prison. in there class justice shall be expanded in fashistic tradition.

in the medias the opernball is presented as a symbol for traditional cultural activities on the "island of the blessed". at the opernball the rulers of international policy and industry celebrate the fixation and extension of their power in viennese cosiness - the suppression we get to feel every day.

interdiction at work, at school, and at the social welfare offices; criminalisation and spy on political actions; repressive refugees and asylum-policy; speculative housing-policy; progressive reduction of the rights the workers gained by fighting.

at 19.30 the demonstration was agressed by fashos with billies and signal rockets for the first time. as the demonstrators defenced themselves the police draw up a cordon against them. after another confrontation, the fashos provoked again they withdrew into a pup, protected by the cops again

the first stones were thrown, when the fashos after having provoked an aggression, withdrew into a pub protected by the police, to continue their aggression from there. to prevent a further escalation the police-major neugeboren sent his forces in billy-chains against the demonstrators. a hunt of several hours duration followed, and each cop cared for "safety and silence" in his own individual manner. the result were 60 wounded demonstrators all in all. during the demo 30 persons got arrested to

detect their identity. until now some trials are going on.

## INFOS

the date for the squatting was one day previous to georg's review of detention. the squatting took ca. one hour. the 15 squatters, after they didn't answer an offer of the president of court to negotiate about permission of visit at the corridor, were evacuated, and they got arrested as they didn't follow the order to give their particulars.

at the police-office they contrived to put through that all of them could phone with the rechtshilfe, by a united refusal to give their identity, until their demand was fulfilled. they were released after three hours.

one day after the squatting georg's documents were delivered up from the (completely enerved) investigating judge to the criminal judge, and couldn't be found there for some days. after that the first visits could take place.

## WIEN

plundering is one possibility of exploited people, to take those things they need to survive, and which belong to them in any case. plundering isn't uncommon, in the so-said 3rd world shops are dispossessed every day. it's the function of justice to protect the propertied classes, in our case the billa-combine or mr. wlaschek, the owner.

billla, that means on the one hand an increase of turnover of the combine 10-15% every year during the recent 10 years, and on the other hand that overtime only is payed in brabches, that reach an appointed turnover. this means that 2/3 of the working hours are not paid to some extent.

on the one hand the combine opens 60-70 new branches every year, on the other hand woman who work as sellers, cashiers, stockworkers or charwoman get a wage of €S 2.000 to €S 6.000. that is under the level of treaty, which is low enough in any case.

on the one hand billla has the plan to expand into CSFR, on the other hand it's much more easy to sweat people in this country because of the low level of wage and the lacking protection by labour-law.

billla, merkur, mondo, bipa, litega, klepp, libro, emma, up to date, schokothek and meatfactory johann andert are gathered in a chain of supermarkets, drugstores, media-shops....

#### FREE GEORG!

22.2.90, anti-opernball-demo: in addition to the brawlers all around the opera, the police called in motorized detachments in the wider surroundings of karlsplatz. georg got arrested by one of these "flying-squad"-employments.

he is kept in preventive detention since this time, until now that are more than 9 weeks.

he refused to testify, so they did refuse his right of getting visits for 6 weeks.

that was coercive detention to make him talk.

at the 63th day of his imprisonment the trial against georg took place. he is accused to have shattered the shop-window of a billa-branch in common with other persons, and to have called up the persons around him to plunder the shop. besides this he shall have thrown a beer can at a radiopatrolcar and he shall have attacked the cops who did arrest him with a flagpole.

the day the trial took place the court-house was blocked by stapo (zivil police) and task force. only 6 of the 50-60 trial-onlookers were allowed to go into the building, with the argument, that the courtroom has only 12 seats for onlookers. the persons who were allowed to go in had to pass two identitycard- and pocketcontrolls. the pigs did obtain and notice the particulars.

after all 6 friends of georg, 3 journalists and 4 zivil-cops were present in the court-room. one woman, who didn't get a seat was carried out of the room.

it's obvious, what this means for georg: after isolation for weeks this is another try to take him away of his political identity. they want to bring him away of his friends and their confirmation, they want to bring him away of the joy of having 60 people around him, who are backing him up.

#### "PUBLICITY" WHAT'S THIS?

trials must take place in a public way. but the justice, or better: an alliance of cops and justice, the law-institution of the rulers makes the decision who is included in the publicity, and who is not.

medias are not neutral, just as little as the justice is neutral; they safeguard their own interests. there is a tendence to concentration and monopolisation at the market of medias. this means that more and more newspapers get bought up by few combines (for example: "krone" and "kurier" belong to the WAZ-combine). it's their aim to profit as much as possible, and on the other hand to maintain the conditions that make this practicable. with the help of hate tunes against all the persons who are in their way.

the state, that as the function to protect the ruler's property will not be attacked by these medias on principle.

#### WHAT DOES THAT MEAN PERSPECTIVELY?

1. complete isolation of the prisoners.

2. exclusion for the comrades of the prisoners, not only from visiting, but also from the trials.

3. the next step would be that justice and cops decide about who is journalist and who is not, that means exclusion of left-wing or critical journalists.

4. that also means exclusion of left-wing publicity altogether. there will be secret trials, that shall be democratical legitimated by a pseudoneutral reporting.

because of this tendency we think it's necessary to create our own publicity.

(statement of the georg-plenum)



# INFOS NOT ONLY WIEN

## GEORG'S TRIAL-DECLARATION

i confess to have been part of the opernballdemo 1990.

thus i've constituted an offence of solidarity with a constantly growing number of people, and beyond this i've made a public announcement of solidarity.

for example: with those 500.000 people in austria who are forced to manage to live within their 4.000 ös, or less.

for example with those pers

for example: with those persons who are forced to pass the winter in a call box at karlsplatz two by two. there are at last 10.000 unsheltered people alone in vienna, in austria all in all there are twice as much.

for example: with those, at whose expense the richness of the high-industrial countries is produced, and who are forced to die of hunger in the so-called "3rd world"

the opernball is a glaring contrast to all of this, a symbol for the structural injustice of the capitalist world-economy-order. only one floor and 30 m away of these call box - pass the winter quarters.

it's just owing to the hothouse-effect, that death from exposure is kept away from dozens of people yearly, only in vienna.

for the remedy there's planned a new law of security-police, that that gives police big power of attorney. attorney. the law the law of drive away for example; disturbing and troublesome persons or persons like "one can look their extraction" (quotation of the austria politician josef ratzenböck) shall be cleared away from the tourism-idyll austria.

but all those who protest against the constantly worsening conditions of life shall be cleared away, at a place where those who are responsible and usufructuary of this squeezing policy are celebrating their rasant rising profits.

profits out of explosive rising prices of housing rent. the legal upper limits of category-housing-rents will be removed with regard to the world fair (austria-hungary 1992) and the eg-association. rents will be more and more forced up because of speculation.

to put through this separation-policy they will go to any length. there was a new quality in the attack against the right of demonstration this year.

the tactic to let neofascistic brawlgangs attack the demonstrators without hindrance, which follows a bloody tradition in austria, bound up in an alarming way with a habit that rose to bad fame not so long ago, at a visit of the self-appointed british "auschwitz-lies-historian" david irving:

the cooperation of police and right wing extremists. the aim of their concerted action is to suppress the protest against the intensifying repression.

with the help of assault by physical injury and criminalisation demonstrations shall be hindered and resistance massively suppressed.

my arresting and its circumstances the impose of preventive detention, and the 6-weekly denial of visit-right is one part of their strategy.

they obviously try to put me off my rights by this, with the help of coercive detention.

i will not bow to this!

## ANTIFA

at the underground-stations and at various squares more and more groups of skinheads, hooligans and neonazis appear. they attack the people physically and with knives. during the night people are aggressed physically in the underground carriages.

after the opernballdemo some attacks against meeting places of the left took place, particular against the kuku (a pub of the kjö - youth organisation of the communist party) and the rotstiltzchen.

beginning of april a fasho-meeting took place in vienna, with skins and neonazis from the BRD and even from hungary; around 100 persons all in all. they wanted to organize a barbeque-party at the donauinsel under the pouring rain that came down this day. but they were hindered by the pigs, and dispersed. in smaller groups they strolled along through the inner city, still observed by the pigs.

antifa-demo at the 20th of april: the demo has been organized by various autonom groups, in coalition with the sj (youth organisation of the sozialistische party), but only the district organisation margareten, and the kjö. at the meeting-point four drunken skins aggressed the demo. already before that they had wounded a demonstrator with a knife at his breast. the four got awfully thrashed by some people. the demonstration itself went along without particular events.

## CONCERNING TATJANA.

since april 20th tatjana was under arrest. she was accused by the pigs to have wounded a skin with a knife during a confrontation nearby a kiosk. a friend of hers too came under arrest; he was accused of clearing away the knife. eh was released at may 18th. tatjana was under arrest until her detention-verification at 1st of juni.

## "INITIATIVE NEUE LINKE"

since shortly in vienna an organisation is coming up that calls itself "initiative new left". three years ago it became known to a larger public when it called for tatouing all HIV-positives, for protection against aids.

mid april at the university of vienna a meeting of the "new left" took place, under the title "equality instead of feminism". the meeting was attacked by a group of 50 persons, and in fact hindered. the infotables in front of the meeting-room were attacked with eggs and tomatoes and thrown over, and the entrances were blocked. a police assault took place in the university it came to a struggle between zivis (under cover agents) / task force and demonstrators. during the struggle three persons got arrested; one of them the pigs torn all the cloths from the body, and he was torn and cicked when he already lay on the floor, his hands chained behind his back. the three were released respectively the same night, or the day after.

the organisers of the new left did collaborate obviously with the pigs, with uniformed and zivis. they constantly pointed at those persons who should have destroyed their info material, and aggressed them. the "initiative new left" has connections to MRI (marxistish reichianish initiative) in BRD, and they get their money from BRD, at least in parts.

there is a procedure against one woman because of resistance, physical injury and promotion. the woman is accused to have cicked a zivi into the nuts.

## ROTSTILTZCHEN - DANGER OF EVACUATION

the rotstiltzchen is the pub of the viennese autonom scene. it exists since 10 years now, isn't squatted, but leased out by a private proprietor. since three years a complaint of vacation is going on. the proprietor needs the rooms, because there is a prospective customer, who wants to open in there a sun-studio. juridical foundation for the complaint is "unfavorable use". beginning of may this year the last procedure in appelante court in the 2nd instance took place. the process took 5 minutes, the appellation was rejected, and a definite date for handing over the key was decided. the key was not handed over, and the pub is opened like before.

## ATTACK AGAINST THE TURKISH EMBASSY

at the 5th of may there was a demonstration as a reaction against the massacre, imprisonment and assassination of turkish comrades that was organized at 1st of may by the fascist government of turkey against the workers. after the demonstration was dispersed about 70 persons attacked the turkish embassy in vienna with colour and stones. the facade was profoundly smeared, soiled and damaged. after this action 11 persons got arrested in the surroundings of the embassy. 10 turkish citizens, and one woman from BRD. they are accused to have participated in the action. they were released at the same day. it isn't already definite whether a trial will take place or not.

## SALZBURG:

### SQUATTED HOUSE IN SALZBURG:

the house innsbrucker bundesstr. 36 is squatted since may 1990. 25 persons live in there.

during the seven weeks before the squatt the group made manifestations against unshelterment every friday, at least they squatted a pedestrian precinct four days long around the clock.

talks with the vice city major were started; he promised to give them the house in the innsbrucker bundesstr. 36. but he relativized after a short time, because the expenses would be too high. in addition to this he wanted a written permission of the parents as a precondition for minors to move into the house.

when the squatt of the pedestrian precinct was finished the group made a demo to the house, and stayed there. the house is squatted since this time.

in the first time the squatters had daily visits of several cop-departments, which came even into the private rooms, and made terror.

the house is a two-floor building, relative new. it belongs to the municipality of salzburg, which wants to build up 1.000 social apartments in the area behind the house, and a "social center" instead of the house. because of this an ultimatum for the inmates exists to leave the house until october 1990.

the plan to open a pub in the house isn't realized until now. but it would be very important, because in salzburg no possibility to go somewhere and meet people exists. the former scene-pubs either have closed or or decides to make money with yuppie-customers.

